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ABSTRACT

In this paper, the educational stances of Madeline Hunter and James Britton are revealed through metaphorical concepts evident in their texts. After an introductory chapter which serves as a statement of purpose, the second and third chapters compare Hunter's and Britton's metaphors for learning, curriculum development, teacher and student roles, and academic decision making. The fourth chapter of the paper traces the metaphors to sources. The last chapter compares the social and political implications of each stance in light of classroom dynamics, teaching, and language learning. Three figures illustrating aspects of their metaphors are included; 112 references and an appendix comparing Hunter's and Britton's educational stances are attached. (RS)

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A Comparative Study of the Educational Stances of Madeline Hunter and James Britton

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New York University

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To my son Robert,

a shaper of dreams.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Attempts at educational reform in the United States have historically had limited success. Although progressive educational theories have excited many educators, according to Hampel (1986), local school setting realities have stifled that excitement and have cast suspicion on progressive models:

> A professor from Columbia University who studied innovations in Pennsylvania concluded that many obstacles faced the reformers. Two thirds of the parents questioned felt that student-centered work would "result in aimless activity and waste of time." School board members, sensitive to the cost of innovations, were even more conservative than parents. Teachers were also cautious. Often they labeled as experimentation such minor changes as new globes for a geography class. Administrators were too ready to voice progressive slogans without "really accepting any modernizing movement in a wholehearted fashion. They frequently do this by supporting one particular adaption, leaving the rest of their school traditional, in most respects." (p. 19)

The Pennsylvania study's findings typify the concerns which have prohibited progressive education from taking root and flourishing. Instead, U.S. schools continue to value quiet classrooms with passive learners and lecture-type instruction based on a predetermined text (Powell, Farrar, & Cohen, 1985; Hampel, 1986; Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985; and Apple, 1981, 1988).

Paramount in the traditional educational arena, testing continues to define student success, teacher effectiveness, and district success:

> California, as part of its 1983 omnibus school reform law, created a financial incentive to reward schools for improvements in the academic performance of their students. Under the program, high schools can earn bonuses of up to $400 per student if 93 percent of a schools' seniors take the California Assessment Program (CAP) test and if the school's average scores improve compared to the previous year. (Fallon, 1985, p. 1)

Most educators know that they can increase test scores (not necessarily engagement in learning) by drilling students for tests and by teaching simple test-taking skills (Sedlak, Wheeler, Pullin, & Cusick, 1986). Thus, administrators and supervisors strive to hone pedagogical strategies to increase test scores.

In order to address the need, theorists have developed several models of teaching. One of these

is the transmission paradigm, the teacher-as-knowledge-dispenser. This was developed by behavior theorists (Skinner, 1953, 1971; Watson, 1916; Bloom, 1956; Brophy, 1981) who view learning as a cause-effect relationship. The behaviorists have developed ways to transmit knowledge more effectively with mastery-teaching techniques and objectives-based education. With this view, students are receivers of knowledge. Knowledge can be compartmentalized, sequenced, and transmitted by teachers.

One of today's educators who has developed a method for transmitting knowledge is Madeline Hunter of UCLA. Ron Brandt (1985), executive editor for the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, has said that Hunter has had "more influence on U.S. teachers in the last ten years than any other person" (p. 61). Hunter's popularity is based on her instructional theory into practice (ITIP) model for effective teaching which is designed to "teach more faster" (1986d) in all disciplines and to all grade levels.

Hunter's training in psychology, first as a practicing psychologist and later as a school psychologist, served as the foundation for her ITIP model:

> As a school psychologist, I began teaching research based on principles of learning: those cause-effect relationships between teaching and learning derived from physiological psychology, behavioral psychology, social psychology--generalizations that seemed most useful in the classroom. Each branch of psychology has important principles to contribute to teaching and learning, and no one branch has answers for all classroom situations. I found most teachers hungry for this basic knowledge, which could be used with all content and with students of all ages, abilities, and socioeconomic and cultural levels. (Hunter, 1986a, p. xii)

The ITIP model represents Hunter's translation of the content of research into clinical professional practices. Her translation credits Hunter by having wide appeal and popularity among educators.

Hunter's (1986a) ITIP model consists of the following eight sequential steps in any given lesson:

1. Teacher initiates anticipatory set.
2. Teacher determines objective.
3. Teacher gives input.
4. Teacher models.
5. Teacher checks for understanding.
6. Teacher guides practice.
7. Teacher assigns independent practice.
8. Teacher offers closure.

According to Hunter, the ITIP model enables teachers to make appropriate decisions in three major aspects of teaching: content, learner style and behavior, and teacher behavior. Key learning principles on which Hunter bases her model are motivation, retention, reinforcement, and transfer.

With schools aiming to increase test scores and "teach more faster" (1986d), Hunter advocates her ITIP model for teaching any subject. English is among them:

> Our model is a teacher decision-making model that is applicable to any mode or style of teaching, to any learner and for any objective, convergent or divergent, grammar or poetry. We are concerned with a teacher *artistically* employing research-based, cause-effect relationships between teaching and learning (including students directing themselves) to escalate students' achievement. (1989a, p. 16)

Another paradigm of teaching portrays teachers as facilitators, and learners as curious scientists who make predictions and construct their own knowledge. This paradigm was developed by the social learning theorists (Dewey, 1900/1971, 1902/1971, 1910, 1916, 1920, 1938; Piaget, 1952, 1960; Vygotsky, 1930/1978, 1934/1987; Kelly, 1963) whose tenets include the social construction of knowledge, developmental approaches to teaching and learning, and interactive classrooms. Students are viewed as constructors of their own knowledge, and teachers value students' past experiences and interactive processes in the classroom.

One who is known for his work in social construction of knowledge is James Britton, an educator held in high esteem among his peers. His life work centers on the study of children and their language development, both spoken and written. Britton has written a number of books for children, as well as books on education and English. He has taught English at various schools in Great Britain and universities throughout the world.

According to Britton (1986), teaching "has to be kept in touch at all points with *learning*" (p. 156). A teacher focused on predetermined objectives may miss other significant learning which may be at least as important as the objectives for the day or unit. With this in mind, the teacher works to empower students to construct their own meaning from information and experiences. During this process, teachers often work intuitively as they build relationships with students and act as resources in the classroom. In *Language, Learner and the School,* Britton notes the intuitive process by which many new teachers develop a teaching and learning relationship with students individually while at the same time managing a whole classroom:

> It seems to me that intuitive processes of this nature are essential in learning to become a teacher, and continue to be essential to good teaching. Yet so many of our approaches in teacher-education tend to discourage rather than encourage such processes. (cited in Barnes et al., 1986, p. 126)

About all that can be planned, according to Britton, "is a set of teacher-provided resources which may or may not be called into service" (Barnes et al., 1986, p. 127). In order to have a flexible model, from an interactive view of learning, the process of negotiation is necessary. Negotiation, according to Britton, allows for unforeseen learning and for input from other sources, especially from the students themselves and "from the shared experiences of all concerned from one day to the next" (p. 127).

Britton (1986) describes the dynamics of the curriculum-centered classroom as "intensified, organized, specialized--*professionalized.* In other words, in school it is *teaching* that matters" (p. 156). Britton suggests that administrators and teachers need to "depedagogicalize" schools so that students' learning may more closely resemble out-of-school learning. When schools recognize this need, students will then find that "learning in school *does* make a difference" (p. 156). Student-centered classrooms help create that learning climate which is necessary to making school learning more meaningful.

This paper is based on the reasoning that since both Hunter and Britton have had an impact on education, it would be helpful to language educators to see how both Hunter's and Britton's stances might be translated in English classrooms. In the paper, both of their stances are revealed through metaphorical concepts (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) evident in their texts. Their metaphors for learning, curriculum development, teacher and student roles, and academic decision making are compared (see Appendix for *Comparison of Hunter and Britton*) and traced to sources. The social and political implications of each stance are compared in light of classroom dynamics, teaching, and language learning.

CHAPTER II

METAPHORS OF MADELINE HUNTER AS REVEALED IN HER SELECTED TEXT

This chapter will examine the metaphors in Hunter's selected text which reveal her metaphors for knowledge, meaning, and learning. These metaphors will be delineated in light of curriculum development, teacher and student roles, and academic decision making.

Metaphors for Learning

Knowledge

Throughout the text, Hunter uses the word *learning* to mean skills-based *knowledge*. In the following text in which Hunter (1985c) discusses transfer, her use of *learning* to mean such *knowledge* is revealed:

> Whenever old learnings assist the acquisition of new learning, we refer to this facilitation as *positive transfer*. When old learnings interfere with the acquisition of new learning, we refer to this interference as *negative transfer*. (p. 3)

Old learnings and *new learning* refer to entities which are understood to be old and new skills-based knowledge. The following text in which Hunter discusses transfer further reveals *learning* to mean a *knowledge* entity:

> *You said transfer of learning refers to changing learning.*
> The learning is not necessarily changed. It may remain in the identical state. Transfer refers to the fact that the degree of difficulty encountered in acquiring a new learning may be influenced (made harder or easier) by the presence of old learnings. (p. 6)

Here *learning* and *old learnings* refer to a skills-based knowledge entity. When *learning*, in this study, is interpreted to mean skills-based *knowledge*, *learning* will be discussed in light of Hunter's knowledge-is-entity metaphor.

Hunter's (1985c) use of the ontological metaphor, that is, the way of viewing emotions, ideas, events, and activities as entities and substances (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) for knowledge, is revealed in the following text as she discusses in a question-and-answer format the transfer of learning from one experience to another:

> *You said transfer of learning refers to moving learning from one place to another.* In a way you're right. However, we do not actually move a learning for it still "remains" where it was originally learned. It can also be "present," however, in the new learning. (p. 5)

Here Hunter refers to learning as an entity that can be moved around, yet it remains in place. Implicit in the idea that learning is an entity is the idea that it can be defined and measured.

When Hunter (1986b) discusses the effects of unlearned material, she reveals another entity metaphor:

> You don't move on with unlearned material that can accumulate like a snowball and eventually engulf the student in confusion and despair. (p. 59)

Here, the entity of unlearned material is seen through a snowball metaphor that has the potential to engulf, discourage, and confuse students. The text also reveals linear movement as in the learning-is-teacher-directed-journey metaphor with the words *you don't move on.* The forward movement, in this case, is not possible since the snowball entity of unlearned material prevents moving on.

Meaning

Hunter uses the teacher-is-meaning-maker-for-others metaphor to define meaning. In the following passage Hunter (1986d) reveals how the teacher makes meaning for students and how she makes meaning for teachers as well:

> *The more meaningful the task, the easier it is to learn.* We all know this. The only thing that is surprising is that in some schools students continue to be presented with meaningless tasks. "Meaning" implies understanding *by the student* not just in the material itself. (All our lists would have been meaningless to a caveman.) We can no longer defend the statement "they just need to be able to do or say it, don't worry if they don't understand it" which has so often been offered as justification for memorization of rote processes in math, names and dates in history, or diagramming sentences. Attempting to have students accomplish a learning task which has little or no meaning is courting academic disaster (to say nothing of ulcers). Before assigning any learning task, the first job of the teacher is to determine whether or not it is meaningful to the learner. If it is not meaningful we need to stop then and there to

> see if there is any way we can make it more meaningful. This programed book [*Teach More Faster*] is an attempt to make psychological theory more meaningful to you. (p. 31)

The notion that the teacher, prior to teaching new tasks, decides for students what is or is not meaningful is implicit in *the first job of the teacher is to determine whether or not it* [material to be learned] *is meaningful to the learner.* Hunter reveals the teacher-is-meaning-maker-for-others metaphor in *If it is not meaningful we need to stop then and there to see if there is any way we can make it more meaningful.* Hunter continues with the meaning-maker-for-others metaphor, in this case for teachers, with *This programed book is an attempt to make psychological theory more meaningful to you.* To Hunter, programmed instruction and the teacher, both external factors, are at the center of meaning making for others.

When teachers make meaning for students, time is saved in learning tasks. Underlying the teacher-is-meaning-maker-for-others metaphor is the time-is-money metaphor. Both metaphors are revealed as Hunter (1986d) discusses meaning as an impetus to learning:

> If you remember only one thing after reading this book [*Teach More Faster*], we hope it will be that *by making learning meaningful you can reduce the amount of time you need to spend in practice.* This knowledge will make it well worth the time you have spent in reading, to say nothing of saving energy and countless hours for you and your students in the classroom. (p. 56)

Implicit in *spend, spent, saving,* and *hours* is the notion that time is money. The time-is-money metaphor is shown in *you can reduce the amount of time you need to spend.* Meaning constructed by the teacher enables the teacher to spend less time on practice in the classroom and, according to Hunter, is an efficient means for learning. The teacher increases the rate of learning in the teacher-is-meaning-maker-for-others metaphor.

Learning

Hunter uses the learning-is-teacher-directed-journey metaphor to define learning. The journey metaphor, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), embodies the notion that something can move or be passed on (p. 45). The following passage reveals that Hunter (1986b) views teaching and learning as the movement or transmission of the knowledge entity to the student:

> Because so much teaching is done by lecture, this chapter will focus on that method of delivering information. Regardless of the content or message, adherence to three basic principles will enable you to give information more effectively. These same principles also apply to preparation of written or audio visual materials. (p. 33)

The principles to which Hunter refers are

1. Determine Basic Information and Organize it [*sic*]
2. Present Basic Information in Simplist [*sic*] and Clearest Form
3. Model the Information or Process. (pp. 33-35)

Implicit in Hunter's transmission view of teaching and learning is the conduit metaphor (Reddy, 1979). In this case, the teacher (information holder) dispenses information (knowledge entity) to the student (container). Implicit in the conduit metaphor of teaching and learning is the student-is-container metaphor. To Hunter, teaching and learning is filling the student with knowledge entities.

To Hunter (1986d), a student's probability of learning is largely based on the teacher's ability to sequence tasks:

> *Assuming all parts of a task are of equal difficulty,* those placed in the *first* position of any sequence are the easiest to learn and those in the *last* position are the next easiest. This does not occur only in our list of words. This same generalization applies to the last thing taught just before lunch, at the end of the day, or at the end of any lesson, whether it be math, reading, or physical education. . . .
>
> Obviously, the hardest position to learn and remember seems to be *just past the middle.* (p. 39)

The knowledge-is-entity metaphor is shown in *parts of a task,* and the teacher's manipulation of these parts determines the task's difficulty for the student, according to Hunter. The learning-is-teacher-directed-journey metaphor is revealed in Hunter's use of linear sequencing to explain easy-to-hard-to-easy learning. The teacher's placement of the task in the linear sequence determines its difficulty to learn and to remember.

Metaphors for Curriculum Development

Hunter (1986b) views knowledge as a discrete entity that can be divided, labeled, and sequenced in a building-block curriculum. Hunter reveals the knowledge-is-entity metaphor, as well as other related metaphors, in the following passage about curriculum development:

> The first professional decision to be made is the answer to the question, "What will be taught." You may be thinking that decision has already been made. You're to teach English I, History of the United States, French II, Computer Science. Those subjects merely label the content area in which you, the teacher, need to make the critical decision about the particular part of that content you will teach *today*. To increase the probability of students' learning, that decision must reflect your knowledge of what that particular group of students already knows and what is next to be learned. The psychological generalization which guides your content decision is that basic concepts, simple generalizations and processes must be acquired before more complex learnings are achieved. Advanced processes and understandings are built on a pyramid of simpler ones.
>
> Therefore, to make the decision about content you are going to teach successfully tomorrow, you need to determine which prior learnings are prerequisite to more complex ones and make sure those essential learnings have been *acquired* by your students (not "have been presented to") before advanced material is introduced. (p. 4)

What that particular group of students already knows embodies the past-curricular-knowledge-entity metaphor and *what is next to be learned* embodies the new-curricular-knowledge-entity metaphor. Implicit in the relationship of these two entities are the learning-is-vehicle and meaning-is-propellant metaphors as Hunter addresses how to increase the probability of students learning the new-curricular-knowledge entity. In this context, meaning is the fuel which enables the learning vehicle to move from one knowledge entity to another. The teacher-is-meaning-maker-for-others metaphor is also revealed in Hunter's notion that we see the teacher directly manipulate knowledge entities for students.

Hunter states that the first professional decision to be made is what will be taught. The *what* refers to the knowledge-is-entity metaphor. Content decision-making, as perceived by Hunter, is the teacher's identification of appropriate parts of the body of knowledge arranged in a building-block curriculum. Diagnostic teaching determines which prior knowledge the student has acquired. According to Hunter, when teachers transmit appropriate parts of the body of knowledge, they can then build on

this and transmit the next appropriate part.

Curriculum to Hunter exists in the shape of a pyramid. The pyramid metaphor enables Hunter to label lower-status concepts and behavior *simple* and higher understandings and processes as *complex* with the most complex understandings and processes at the top where they are most highly regarded. In addition, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) discuss the high-status-is-up and low-status-is-down metaphors as correlates of social status and physical power (p. 16). Thus, implicit in the notion that when a student is placed on the curriculum pyramid is that the student is also given certain status and power.

Hunter views English I as a knowledge entity that can be transferred in parts by the teacher to the students. Implicit in Hunter's view is that once a knowledge entity is transmitted to students, it is acquired or possessed. Since newly possessed knowledge leads to a change in behavior, according to Hunter (1986b), the teacher can identify learning with tests or quick checks for understanding:

> "Thumbs up if the statement I make is true, down if false, to the side if you're not sure" . . .
> "Make a plus with your fingers if you agree with this statement, a minus if you don't and a zero if you have strong feelings."
> "Show me with your fingers if sentence 1 or sentence 2 has a dependent clause." (p. 60)

Through observing changes through visual signs, the teacher quickly determines when students are ready to move on to the next part of the knowledge entity.

The teacher-is-meaning-maker-for-others metaphor underpins Hunter's idea that teachers cause curriculum to be meaningful for students. Lakoff and Johnson's concept of metaphorical extensions of prototypical causation aids us in understanding Hunter's teacher-is-meaning-maker-for-others metaphor in which the cause-effect view of teaching and learning is implicit:

> Simple instances of making an object (e.g., a paper airplane, a snowball, a sand castle) are all special cases of direct causation. They all involve prototypical direct manipulation, with all of the properties listed above. But they have one additional characteristic that sets them apart as instances of *making:* As a result of the manipulation, we view the object as a different *kind* of thing. What was a sheet of paper is now a paper airplane. We categorize it differently--it has a different form and function. It is essentially this that sets instances of *making* apart from other kinds of direct manipulation. Even a simple change of state, like the change from water to ice, can be viewed as an instance of making, since ice has a different form and function

than water. (1980, pp. 72-73)

Lakoff and Johnson's direct causation helps us understand Hunter's view of the teacher as one who makes meaning out of a part of the past-curricular-knowledge entity to enable students to make associations with the future-curricular-knowledge entity. Implicit in the teacher-is-meaning-maker-for-others metaphor is the cause-effect view in which teachers cause knowledge to be meaningful for students.

Hunter (1986b) refers to ways in which a knowledge entity can be divided into "meaningful chunks" for the teacher to transmit to the student. In the following text, Hunter poses a question and offers an answer which reveals her means for dividing a knowledge entity within a building-block or pyramid curriculum:

> *Question 1: How much materials should be practiced at one time?*
> *Answer:* A short meaningful amount. Always use meaning (not mathematics!) to divide your content into parts.
> Introduce a short meaningful "chunk" to your students. Then give several examples or go over it again in a different way. Make sure you check their understanding and their reasonable accomplishment before you move on. (p. 65)

Again the knowledge-is-entity metaphor is implicit in her divided, quantified, and organized material. What the teacher views as meaningful for students determines content and sequence in curriculum development. In this context, the teacher makes curriculum meaningful for students.

Hunter's (1986b) teacher-is-meaning-maker-for-others metaphor is further revealed:

> Examples:
> Practice the identification of dependent and independent clauses. When that has been achieved by most of the students, practice the use of the comma in sentences that begin with dependent clauses.
> Practice the use of the apostrophe in contractions. Only after that has been learned, practice the use of the apostrophe in possessives. . . .
> Practice identification of the setting of a story. Only after that has been reasonably accomplished, move on to plot.
> Practice with regular verbs. Only after they are learned, move to irregular.
> Practice only one part of a performance. When that has been reasonably (not

> perfectly) learned [,] move to the next part. While you may introduce the "total" to show where the part to be practiced belongs, students' practice should be focused on a short meaningful part. (pp. 65-66)

Here the knowledge entity is sequenced by the teacher. What the teacher perceives as students' past-curricular-knowledge entity determines the place in the sequence where the teacher begins to transmit the new-curricular-knowledge-entity parts. In this context, past-curricular-knowledge entities serve the teacher who makes new associations between past- and new-knowledge entities in order to make the new knowledge entity meaningful to students as they are moved through the curriculum. Proper sequence of material allows teachers to make meaning for students and serves as the foundation on which curriculum is developed.

The learning-is-teacher-directed-journey metaphor as it applies to the building-block metaphor for curriculum is revealed in a lecture Hunter (1986a) gave at the University of Wisconsin:

> If you can't write any letters of the alphabet, you'll never write a word. If you can't write a word, you're never going to be able to write sentences. If you can't write related sentences, there is no way you're going to be able to write a paragraph. If you can't write related paragraphs, there is no way in the world you are ever going to write a beautiful essay or poem or some of the creative things. (Tape 1)

Revealed here is the notion that sentence completion is a prerequisite for writing an essay. Further, Hunter views writing a paragraph as a prerequisite to creative writing. Hunter's building-block curriculum in which the parts precede the whole enables teachers to place students at levels perceived appropriate by the teacher.

As students progress through the building-block curriculum on their teacher-directed journey, they proceed one step at a time. Hunter (1986b) views language curriculum, as well as other subjects, as parts preceding the whole:

> All information, whether it be mathematical, scientific, technical, or rules of English grammer [*sic*], should be examined for basic structure and presented to students in some organized way, so the student has the foundation of concepts and generalizations on which to build more complex understandings. (p. 34)

The building-block metaphor for curriculum is implicit in *foundation of concepts and generalizations on*

which to build more complex understandings. In the building-block curriculum, students move up and through the pyramid curriculum by starting at the foundation of concepts and moving toward more complex understandings.

To enhance movement through curriculum in the learning-is-teacher-directed-journey metaphor, Hunter recommends the use of rules. Hunter's rules-are-propellants metaphor is revealed in her explanation of how transfer is enhanced with the use of rules and generalizations:

> Transfer is always enhanced when the learner works out rules (generalizations) for what he's doing and makes those rules explicit. Those rules should (1) cover many examples, (2) have few exceptions, and (3) be easy to learn. (1985c, p. 83)

Hunter follows in this passage with lists of verbs in three tenses: present, past, and progressive. Although Hunter states in the text *when the learner works out rules (generalizations) for what he's doing and makes those rules explicit,* Hunter herself generates the rule "for when to double the final consonant of a verb before adding 'ed' of 'ing' " (p. 83). Here Hunter uses a rules-are-propellants metaphor to talk about ways to enhance transfer or movement in the learning-is-teacher-directed-journey metaphor.

Hunter (1986a) further reveals her learning-is-teacher-directed-journey metaphor through incremental curriculum as it applies to language learning in the following conversation she had with a composition teacher:

> *Teacher:* Mrs. Hunter, tell me what you do when you're supposed to be teaching argumentative essays and the students can't even write a decent sentence?
> *Hunter:* Teach them how to write a sentence. They're never going to write a persuasive or argumentative essay if they can't write sentences. (Tape 1)

Hunter's building-block curriculum prohibits students with an unlearned-material entity, in this case, writing complete sentences, from moving on to writing persuasive or argumentative essays. The forward or upward movement in the learning-is-teacher-directed-journey metaphor is halted until the student has the teacher's consent to continue.

Movement for students in the teacher-directed-journey metaphor through the teacher-driven curriculum is based on teacher consent. Teacher approval is also important to Hunter's notion of identifying similarities in light of what she calls instructional control:

> The identification of essential and unvarying elements is probably the most important concept in this book [*Teach for Transfer*]. The reason *is that identification of a critical element or invariance is a factor which can be deliberately incorporated in a teaching situation so its accomplishment can be brought under instructional control,* while the factors of perception of *similarities, associations,* and *degree of learning* are not so subject to instructional control.
>
> Though we teach for *identification of similarities,* we cannot control everything the learner perceives as similar. (1985c, p. 63)

According to Hunter, teachers determine the similarities of perception which they approve and pursue. Even though Hunter recognizes the limitations of the teacher's awareness of all instructional outcomes, as revealed in *we cannot control everything the learner perceives as similar,* the teacher's perception of what is similar is valued. In the following passage about storytelling, judgment is passed on students who do not think like the teacher:

> For example, after telling the story of Little Red Riding Hood, the teacher asked a group of five-year-olds what their mother did that was like Red Riding Hood's mother. The teacher was seeking responses such as "She tells us to go straight to school," or "not to talk to strangers," or "to go a certain way and not to stop to do other things." One five-year-old boy responded, "Because she bought me a sweater." The teacher was wise enough to ask, "How was that the same?" and the response came, "The sweater was red."
>
> In like manner, regardless of the teacher's intent, unwanted *associations* sometimes can be formed. (p. 63)

Hunter's learning-is-teacher-directed-journey metaphor for language-learning experiences includes the teacher's predetermined outcomes in which student responses are judged by the teacher as wanted or unwanted. Students thinking outside or beyond the predetermined answer are judged by Hunter to have made *unwanted* associations. The teacher is responsible for phrasing questions in a way that students can answer as anticipated by the teacher.

Metaphors for Teacher and Student Roles

Hunter (1978a) perceives the role of the teacher as primarily diagnostic: "Diagnosis has become an integral element of successful teaching" (p. 13). The following passage reveals the knowledge-is-entity

metaphor as Hunter discusses one of three aspects in which the role of the teacher is to diagnose student needs:

> There are three discrete areas where diagnostic data must be collected. The most common area is the level of difficulty of content. Should the learner be working on whole numbers or fractions, simple or complex concepts, easy reading or material with high vocabulary loading and idea density? (p. 16)

Here the teacher's role is to identify the student's past-curricular-knowledge entity in order to prescribe a new-curricular-knowledge entity. Implicit in the diagnostic and prescriptive role of the teacher is the idea that the student is deficient in content areas and dependent on the teacher for direction in learning. The text further reveals the building-block curriculum metaphor, with *level of difficulty of content,* and the pyramid metaphor, with *simple or complex concepts* which is consistent with Hunter's view of content as a divided and sequenced entity.

Once past curricular knowledge is diagnosed and new curricular knowledge is prescribed, the teacher connects the two knowledge entities for students:

> Diagrammatically expressed, we can affect only the present, but in that present we can "hook" into past learning experiences and pull that learning forward to facilitate present learning. We "cut it off" to prevent the interference of negative transfer. We teach to increase the positive transfer of present learning to future situations where it is appropriate and minimize negative transfer to a future situation where that learning would be appropriate. (Hunter, 1986b, p. 108)

Three entity metaphors are revealed: knowledge learned in the past, knowledge learned in the present, and knowledge to be learned in the future. Hunter uses a crochet metaphor which features the teacher as a crochet needle that hooks the past-knowledge entity and pulls it forward to the present-knowledge entity. When the teacher deems it necessary, learning is cut off to prevent negative transfer. Hunter perceives the teacher as the crochet needle that connects present and past knowledge for students. The forward movement of learning reveals yet another metaphor, learning-is-teacher-directed-journey. The teacher directs by manipulating knowledge entities for students and by determining which knowledge entities are appropriately connected and which are not.

Through connecting knowledge entities, the teacher, according to Hunter, increases meaning. Hunter (1986d) reveals her teacher-is-meaning-maker-for-others metaphor as she discusses quantifying

meaning: "You can have none at all, a little, a lot, or a tremendous amount" (p. 33). Hunter further discusses measuring learning tasks and matching degrees of meaning with degrees of task difficulty:

> No matter where on the continuum of meaning a task falls, from almost none to a great deal, your job [as teacher] is to see if by connecting it with previous experience, developing order, relationships, or categories, you can increase that meaning and as a result make the learning task easier. (p. 33)

The text reveals that Hunter perceives the teacher's job as one of regulating the amount of meaning a task holds for students by *connecting it with previous experience, developing order, relationships, or categories.* Implicit in Hunter's job of the teacher is the student's dependency on the teacher to make tasks meaningful.

If there is no past-curricular-knowledge entity from which to make meaning, the teacher, according to Hunter, can create an artificial-meaning entity. Both the artificial-meaning-entity metaphor and the teacher-is-meaning-maker-for-others metaphor are revealed in the following passage as Hunter (1986b) discusses the use of mnemonics:

> Sometimes it is not possible to identify any past experience of students which might facilitate current learning. It is difficult to make classification systems, tables, and lists meaningful so they can easily be learned and remembered. Consequently, we [teachers] need to invent artificial meaning to associate with the material. "Every good boy does fine" helps us remember the musical notes "e.g.b.d.f." We call this artificial meaning a *mnemonic device.* (p. 54)

Here meaning is an artificial-meaning entity created by the teacher as a substitute for a real-meaning entity. With the artificial-meaning-is-entity metaphor, Hunter explains how to use direct-causation principles in order to help students make associations when a past-curricular-knowledge-entity metaphor does not exist. The text reveals that Hunter perceives two types of meaning, real and artificial, and both are generated by the teacher.

The effect Hunter perceives teachers to have on learning is the basis for the learning-is-teacher-directed-journey metaphor. The teacher's role in the journey metaphor is one of the most important factors to student achievement, according to Hunter (1989):

> Of the many factors critical to students' successful achievement in school, one of the most important is the professional competence of teachers. This competence is based on what a teacher *does,* not what a teacher *is.* When teachers' plans are based on valid content and sound theory, then implemented with an artistry that incorporates fundamental principals *[sic]* of human learning, students will learn. If those principles of human learning are violated or neglected, learning will be impeded. (p. 1)

If teachers consciously use principles of human learning, the learning journey will not be impeded by who the teacher *is* but will be enhanced by what the teacher *does.* Implicit in this idea is that any teacher, regardless of professional or personal qualities, can use learning principles to increase learning. Teachers are judged competent by what they do to accelerate learning which, to Hunter, is to design lesson plans for the transmission of content and to implement these lessons with an "artistry" that incorporates fundamental principles of learning. Implicit in the learning-is-teacher-directed-journey metaphor is the student's dependence on the teacher for transmission of knowledge entities and for direction in the curriculum.

Hunter (1986b) perceives the teacher as the cause of learning in the following passage in which she defines teaching as "the process of examining what is to be learned and using the science of cause-effect relationships in learning plus one's own artistry to help students achieve that learning" (p. 80). Teachers cause learning, according to Hunter, by selecting and arranging content to be consciously delivered to students. Implicit in content transmission is the conduit metaphor in which students are filled, like containers, with knowledge. Although her definition of teaching holds that artistry and intuition are equal in importance to the science of cause-effect relationships, Hunter (1990) in another passage perceives intuition and artistry as less important than the science of cause-effect relationships:

> Intuition, which is highly operant but non-articulated knowledge, belongs in every profession, but it should be used to augment research or experientially based knowledge, not in lieu of it. Unfortunately, intuition dies with its possessor. Until it is articulated, it cannot be transmitted effectively and validly to other professionals. The capacity to explain is critical to successful transmittal. (p. 2)

Here Hunter views intuition as nonarticulated knowledge about teaching which dies with its possessor. Articulated knowledge about teaching, on the other hand, is viewed as living on. When the knowledge-is-entity metaphor is articulated and transmitted, the entity is alive with its possessor. When the

knowledge-is-entity metaphor is not articulated and transmitted, the entity dies with the possessor.

The learning-is-teacher-directed-journey metaphor embodies the past-learning-is-propellant metaphor as revealed by Hunter's (1985c) explanation of the importance of the teacher's ability to organize lessons so students will learn: "Helping the student identify and select from his past learning the set which will yield the appropriate propulsion to present learning is the hallmark of a successful teacher" (p. 19). Here the past-learning-is-propellant metaphor is revealed as the appropriate propulsion to present learning. With the teacher's help, the learning journey is accelerated with a propellant by selecting a set from past learning. The teacher helps the student to identify the propellants which will yield a quicker journey through the curriculum.

Metaphors for Academic Decision Making

To Hunter, academic decision making is the responsibility of the teacher. Hunter (1990) uses the teacher-is-decision-maker metaphor to define teaching in the following text: "We currently define teaching as a constant stream of decisions which, when appropriately implemented, can increase the probability of learning. Students learn more when they are well taught," (p. 1). Implicit in *Students learn more when they are well taught* is the idea that teachers are responsible for learning and that learning is caused by teaching. Hunter's teaching-is-stream-of-decisions metaphor reveals the need for teachers to know how to make appropriate decisions on a daily basis, as Hunter (1986a) claims that teachers make more than 5,000 decisions a day.

Hunter advises that decisions about teaching and learning be grounded in clinical theory of instruction (C.T I.). The following passage about teaching and learning reveals the teacher-is-decision-maker metaphor as Hunter (1978b) explains the universality of C.T.I.:

> There now exists a Clinical Theory of Instruction (C.T.I.), a theory that has invaded and pervaded the sacred methodologies of education, that claims to be as relevant and as effective for a futurist as for a traditionalist, that is based on the teacher being a *decision making professional,* that claims to enhance a teacher's creativity and individuality, that claims universality regardless of content, school organization, or learners' age, socio-economic status or ethnic derivation, that is being used in some form in every U.S. state, every Canadian province and many other countries. (p. 1)

Hunter's teacher-is-decision-maker metaphor is explicitly stated in *the teacher being a decision making professional.* When a teacher makes the best decisions which are those based on psychological theory

[clinical theory], learning will be increased. Implicit in this notion is the idea that if teachers make wrong decisions in any of the three identified categories, learning is impeded. It is the teacher who is responsible for increased or impeded learning. Further, Hunter portrays C.T.I. as the knowledge entity in which teachers around the world ground their decisions about teaching and learning.

Cause-effect relationships underpin Hunter's C.T.I. knowledge entity as revealed in the following passage in which Hunter likens the benefits of C.T.I. to the benefits of a doctor's knowledge:

> We now know many cause-effect relationships in teaching and learning. As a result, we can use those causal relationships to promote student learning in the same way the doctor uses his medical knowledge to promote health. In both education and medicine we are learning more each day even though there still remains much we don't know. (1986b, p. 3)

Here the teacher-is-healer metaphor is revealed as the teacher makes decisions about a student's learning just as a doctor makes decisions about a patient's illness. In this context, the student is deficient and needs a prescribed treatment just as a doctor would prescribe treatment for a sick patient.

Hunter (1990) again uses the teacher-is-healer metaphor in reference to academic decision making:

> Education, as medicine, is a decision-making, action-performance profession based on cognition. Cognition includes intuition, that highly operant but inarticulate knowledge which has the potential for eventually becoming articulated and, therefore transmittable to others. Because not only education but also medicine deal with the complexity of humans, there are no absolutes. Consequently, both professions are relativistic and situational because it is impossible to control all the variables including that elusive variable of "human will," "mind," "spirit," or whatever you choose to call it. (p. 7)

The text reveals Hunter's perception of the teaching profession as being similar to the medical profession in that both teachers and doctors prescribe treatment. Extending this metaphor, students are like patients who are sick and dependent on their doctor. In this way, the teacher is the healer who prescribes help for students who need it. In addition, Hunter states that "human will," "mind," or "spirit" is impossible to control which makes teaching relativistic and situational. In a previously cited passage, Hunter contradicts this idea when she introduces C.T.I. as the theory that makes teaching universal regardless of socioeconomic status or ethnic derivation.

Hunter (1978b) clarifies a misunderstanding about C.T.I. and in doing so reveals its cause-effect tenets:

> C.T.I. is not based on a certain philosophy or theory of learning. C.T.I. is eclectic and draws from all theories, using research supported cause-effect relationships to help the teacher achieve any philosophic or curricular goal. (p. 9)

Although Hunter states that C.T.I. is not based on any certain theory of learning, her stimulus-response reinforcement paradigm has behavioral theory as its base (Skinner, 1953, 1971). C.T.I. is founded on behavioral models of learning and instruction which assume stimulus-response or causal relationships which will be discussed in a later chapter.

When teachers make meaning for students as in the teacher-is-meaning-maker-for-others metaphor, they also make decisions for them. To Hunter, these teacher decisions are based on cause-effect relationships as they apply to students' past and future learning entities. In the following passages, Hunter (1986b) uses a meaning-is-propellant metaphor as she reveals how teachers generate meaning and shape learning for students:

> Meaning is one of the most important propellants of learning. Meaning, however, does not exist in material but in the relationship of that material to students' past knowledge and experience.
>
> In the chapter, "Model What You Mean," you learned to generate meaning for students by using models. Models are examples that the student can directly percieve [*sic*] in the classroom. (p. 51)

Implicit in Hunter's meaning-is-propellant metaphor is the learning-is-vehicle metaphor. Learning, a teacher-driven vehicle, when fueled with meaning moves students in a linear fashion from one knowledge entity, represented as the past-knowledge-and-experience-entity metaphor, to the next, represented as the future-situation-entity metaphor. The teacher's ability to make appropriate connections for students determines the rate at which students learn.

Academic decisions are based on time efficiency. Hunter (1986d) reveals her time-is-money metaphor as she discusses curricular efficiency of working with the parts of a whole: "For efficiency in learning you work with the smallest amounts possible without sacrificing maximum meaning or wasting time" (p. 53). Hunter cites an example to illustrate maximum meaning and time efficiency:

> If we were working on a poem, we would go through the whole poem to develop maximum meaning, then work on one or two lines at a time provided we weren't destroying meaning. If we were losing meaning, we would need to take more lines or a stanza. (p. 54)

Hunter's purpose for working on the whole poem is to develop maximum meaning for greatest efficiency in learning. To Hunter, a poem is a whole entity which can be divided into smaller parts for efficiency in learning. From this, the text reveals that Hunter perceives poetry as a knowledge entity which can be divided into smaller parts for ease of learning, rather than an artistic whole.

According to Hunter, teachers make three types of decisions: content, learning behavior, and teacher behavior. The learning-is-teacher-directed-journey metaphor is revealed in a passage in which Hunter (1986b) explains the third type of decisions teachers make about learning:

> The third decision in teaching (note that this is the *third* decision not the first) is directed to your own teaching behavior; what *you* will do to increase learning. If you deliberately use principles of learning which research indicates are accelerants to student achievement, you will have power to increase your students' motivation to learn, the speed and the amount (rate and degree) of their learning, and their retention and appropriate transfer of that learning to new situations requiring creativity, problem solving and decision making. Principles of learning constitute a powerful pharmacy of alternatives from which you can create an effective learning prescription. Knowing principles of learning and deliberately and artistically using them is the hallmark of the master teacher. This book and the accompanying series of Mastery Teaching videotapes were developed to present some of these principles to you and thereby to help you consciously achieve master teaching. (p. 6)

Hunter promises teachers the power to increase student learning if they use her learning principles as a basis for decision making. This notion introduces the applying-principles-is-accelerants metaphor, which, in part, emerges from Hunter's own theory and research and which will be traced to behaviorism in a later chapter. The time-is-money and conduit metaphors are revealed in her discussion of rate and degree of learning. Individual differences in students, to Hunter, are those differences involved in rate of learning. Hunter compares the learning principles to drugs and refers to them as a "powerful pharmacy of alternatives" which increases the rate of learning.

Another decision teachers make involves the productive use of time in classrooms. Waiting time in classrooms is wasted time, according to Hunter, because of the absence of what she perceives as productive activity or any activity at all. This perception introduces the activity-is-productivity metaphor. In the following passage, Hunter (1986b) explains:

> Time is the coin of teaching. That's what teachers have to spend to "buy" learning. We can invest time wisely in activities that result in students' learning or we can fritter time away on inconsequential matters or in *waiting*.
>
> When students are waiting (waiting for a class to convene, waiting for materials to be passed, waiting while roll is called, waiting for a turn) little learning is taking place. Sometimes waiting is inevitable but lack of learning while waiting is not. (p. 93)

To save time, Hunter suggests activities called *sponge activities* which are designed to "sop up" precious time that otherwise would be lost. Decisions concerning these activities involve either practicing previously learned skills or introducing new learning.

In a discussion of teacher decision making, Hunter (1990) uses a nutrients metaphor while discussing three major decision-making categories:

> Effective teaching has three essential elements (nutrients) about which the teacher must make *decisions;* [*sic*] content, learning behavior and teaching behavior. Note that no one can tell a teacher exactly what to do. We can tell teachers only what they must *know and think about* before the decision is made about what to do with *these* students in *this* situation. (p. 3)

Here Hunter uses the nutrients metaphor to illustrate healthy decision making which increases learning. When teachers act from a clinical theory knowledge base, they make healthy decisions. Mistakes in decision making are those decisions based on some other criteria which, in keeping with Hunter's metaphor, would not be filled with nutrients and would not yield greater learning.

Clinical theory of instruction (C.T.I.) is the basis for Hunter's instructional theory into practice (ITIP) model for effective teaching with which information is efficiently transmitted to students. With her development of the teacher decision-making model, Hunter (1990) now regards education more highly and with more promise:

> Education now qualifies as a true profession. (1) A body of research-based knowledge, not possessed by those outside the profession, exists and has been articulated for use by educators. (2) Performance in education requires synthesis of that knowledge with additional knowledge about current situations and clients which results in professional decision-making rather than following a set of fixed procedures. (3) An educator must continue to add new insights, research-based skills and understandings to performance throughout that professional's career. (p. 1)

With this, Hunter (1986a) emphasizes the importance of education in the future: "Teaching will surpass medicine in importance since we [educators] will have control of the brains of the future" (Tape 1).

CHAPTER III

METAPHORS OF JAMES BRITTON AS REVEALED IN HIS SELECTED TEXT

This chapter will examine the metaphors in Britton's selected text which reveal his metaphors for knowledge, meaning, and learning. These metaphors will be delineated in light of curriculum development, teacher and student roles, and academic decision making.

Metaphors for Learning

Knowledge

Britton (1982) uses a knowledge-is-world-representation metaphor to describe knowledge and credits Sapir for the phrase *world representation:*

> Sapir suggested, many years ago, that we operate in the actual world not directly, but by means of--through the mediation of--a "world picture," a representation of the world. (pp. 100-101)

Kelly's notion of a personal construct system clarifies the meaning of knowledge-is-world-representation-entity metaphor. In the following passage Britton (1985) cites Kelly (1963) to explain the personal construct system as it applies to creating the knowledge-is-world-representation-entity metaphor:

> Experience is made up of the successive construing of events. It is not constituted merely by the succession of events themselves. . . . It is not what happens around him that makes a man's experiences [man experienced]; it is successive construing and reconstruing of what happens, as it happens, that enriches the experience of life. [p. 73] (cited in Britton, p. 17)

In this context, learners construct and reconstruct their views of the world as they interpret and reinterpret experiences. Britton (1985) likens his world representation to Kelly's notion of the personal construct system: "The outcome of this process, and the equivalent in Kelly's theory of what we have called the 'world representation,' is a person's 'construction system' " (p. 17). Through the world-representation-entity metaphor, Britton views knowledge as an evolving internal framework of experiences or expectations which is continually being revised as new experiences present themselves and are interpreted by the learner. As events occur, the existing framework is adjusted as new

experiences are internalized.

Britton emphasizes feelings as an essential component in constructing and reconstructing the knowledge-is-world-representation entity. Britton uses a network metaphor to illustrate the interconnections among feelings, values, and knowledge:

> Our knowledge of the world is inextricably bound up with the way we *feel* about the world, about people and things and events and ourselves. Our ways of feeling, taken overall, show a persistent patterning which constitutes our value system. It is our values that make us the sort of people we are, and it is on this basis of shared values that we establish our most intimate network of relationships with other people. (Barnes, Britton, & Torbe, 1986, p. 105)

To Britton, shared values constitute the learner's most intimate relationships with other people. A learner's feelings, values, and relationships with others are interwoven and become an integral part of the evolving personal knowledge in the knowledge-is-world-representation-entity metaphor.

Meaning

Britton uses the learner-is-meaning-maker metaphor to define meaning. At the center of meaning, according to Britton, is the learner constructing and reconstructing a world-representation metaphor through the interpretation of past experiences in light of new experiences. Through this process, previous meaning is negotiated with new experiences. Britton highlights the learner's involvement in the meaning-making process:

> 'Engagement', then, is a process of knowing, a process in which meaning is negotiated by constructing a version of the unfamiliar from the raw materials of the familiar. In the kind of conversation we have been considering, the talk is itself an enactment of that process of engagement. (Barnes et al., 1986, p. 109)

The text reveals an engagement metaphor for the learner's involvement in meaning making. Learner-generated meaning is grounded in negotiating new experiences with the raw materials of familiar past experiences. The past-experiences-are-raw-materials metaphor reveals meaning as a personal experience for each individual. Further, the learner's talk, according to Britton, is an integral part of engagement in the learner-is-meaning-maker metaphor.

The learner-is-meaning-maker metaphor is further revealed in Britton's description of learner

expectations during the reading process. The text reveals the learner-is-meaning-maker metaphor as Britton (1985) explains:

> With every sentence we read, the pattern of focused expectations is filled in with detail; grows better defined as it grows more complex. The meaning is an *emergent pattern* of relationships--more like a negative in the developing-dish than it is like a train coming out of a tunnel. (p. 161)

Here Britton uses the emergent-pattern-of-relationships metaphor to show how the learner comes to understand present events in light of past experiences. Britton sharply contrasts his emergent-pattern-of-relationships metaphor with a linear-track-of-a-train metaphor. Meaning is viewed by Britton as an emerging picture which becomes clearer as it grows more complex, rather than as a sequential emergence in which each piece is perceived in its entirety as it emerges. Each learner's unique experiences and expectations for the future is central to Britton's learner-is-meaning-maker metaphor.

Learning

Britton perceives learning as an ongoing experience which is both personal and social. The following passage reveals the learning-is-ongoing-experience metaphor as Britton defines learning in light of relationships, shared values, and knowledge:

> To define learning as *coming to know* something about the world that we did not know before, while denying the term to *a change in the way we evaluate* some experience is to make a false disjunction. We need to recognize, moreover, that the network of people related to us by shared values provides, at every state of life, the primary context for our learning of both varieties--both coming to know and refining our value systems. The maintenance of the two forms in close association can alone explain how knowledge can be at one and the same time both *personal* and *social.* (Barnes et al., 1986, pp. 105-106)

Here Britton explains that learning is more than coming to know something new about the world. Learning is the interpretation of past experience in light of a new experience with which the learner reshapes and reconstructs the world-representation entity. To Britton, learning consists of two inseparable components: those of coming-to-know and refining-our-values. Both experiences form a close association which allow learning to be both personal and social at once.

The learning-is-ongoing-experience metaphor embodies the circularity metaphor which reveals Britton's view of learning as outward growth that stems from a center. Britton uses a circularity metaphor to explain how the anticipation of events precedes human learning and personal growth:

> And what is true of percepts in the early stages is later true also of concepts: we tackle an intellectual problem forearmed with alternative possible solutions. In this way human learning represents growth from a centre, a continuing programme. (Barnes et al., 1986, p. 108)

A growing center of experiences enhances the learner's ability to anticipate problems and their possible solutions. At the center of learning, according to Britton, are the learner's experiences which make possible the anticipation of events. In this way, Britton views learning with the learning-is-ongoing-experience metaphor.

Metaphors for Curriculum Development

Britton's view of knowledge as a learner-constructed, world-representation entity underpins his belief in a language-based curriculum. Britton contrasts a language-based curriculum with a teacher-driven curriculum as he questions the purpose of a syllabus or teacher-driven curriculum:

> As the syllabus grows longer we teach more--but do they learn more? And if we get three lessons a week when we ought to have five, presumably we teach more to the minute than we would otherwise: but again, do they learn any quicker? How *do* we judge how much is being learnt, in any case? (Barnes et al., 1986, p. 91)

Implicit in Britton's use of the teach-more-faster metaphor of curriculum-centered classrooms and its underlying assumption of more lessons per week increasing learning is the notion that more is not necessarily better and that a longer curriculum may not necessarily fill the needs of learners.

Developing a curriculum which measures a student's growth and understanding is not the same nor as simple as developing a curriculum based on testing rote learning. In the following passage, Britton delineates the limitations of rote learning in relationship to teaching and learning:

> It's easy enough to test simple rote learning of course (from nonsense syllables through Kim's Game to the Thirty-Nine Articles), but this goes no way towards satisfying our idea of what learning and teaching *are*. We want children, as a result of

> our teaching, to *understand;* to be wise as well as well-informed, able to solve fresh problems rather than have learnt the answers to old ones; indeed, not only able to answer questions but also able to ask them. Information as to how well they're getting on in this kind of learning--even if we could spend half our time devising and setting and marking tests--would be terribly hard to come by. (Barnes et al., 1986, p. 91)

Testing emphasizes a child's correct answers, not a child's understanding and ability to make decisions. According to Britton, a test-driven curriculum based on rote learning has little to do with what learning and teaching are about. To Britton, a better indicator of learning and understanding is the child's ability to formulate thoughtful questions, and language-based curriculum would encourage this process.

To Britton, language is the means for constructing and reconstructing the knowledge-is-world-representation entity, and a language-based curriculum aids students in their development. Over time, as children construct and reconstruct their own worlds through language, their language develops. As children and language develop, so do thinking skills. Britton (1982) uses a speech-is-foundation metaphor to show the relationship of speech to language and thought development:

> We continue of course to use talk as a means of representing the world: and that would serve to describe a great deal of the chat and the gossip that most of us devote our time to so generously. But we use writing also, and we use thought--going over in our minds events of the day, for example--and those two processes would not normally be possible to us unless we had built their foundation in speech. (p. 89)

Britton's speech-is-foundation metaphor for writing and thinking reveals the value talk has in school curriculum and in children's learning. If children are not allowed to talk, their writing and thinking will not develop naturally. Britton (1982) states: " 'Development' lies in a bifurcation, an ability to do two things with language where previously we could do one." (p. 123)

Young children are viewed by Britton as having a roving curiosity. In defense of the curious young learner, Britton (1985) explains what happens to this learner who tries to operate in a subject-centered school program:

> [W]hen he encounters a strictly subject-centred school programme he must summarily unlearn the habit of choice and forego the right to be interested. It seems to me that learning to choose is a part of learning to learn, and so, in the long run, more important than learning *x* or *y* or *z*. (p. 186)

Britton's example of a child unlearning the habit of curiosity and interest in a subject-centered, predetermined school curriculum is an image which contrasts with and thus strengthens his learner-is-meaning-maker metaphor.

According to Britton, children use language to make sense of their world, and through this process they learn the operational value of language. Britton (1985) compares children practicing with their language to doctors who practice medicine or lawyers who practice law, "*not* in the sense in which a juggler 'practises' a new trick before he performs it" (p. 130). In this comparison, Britton makes clear that an operational use of language involves practice in using language for a real purpose and intent. As Britton explains: "Putting this at its simplest, what children use language for in school must be 'operations' and not 'dummy runs' " (p. 130).

Britton (1985) uses a metaphor of "forty cattle feeding as one" to illustrate traditional curriculum outcomes in a passage which offers advice to teachers who do not follow the traditional school curriculum:

> Teachers need to defend themselves against such criticism in two ways: in theory, by insisting that learning is an evolutionary process in which the fullest possible development at any stage is the best preparation for ensuing stages; and in practice (or 'more commodiously') by ensuring as far as they can that the operations undertaken by their pupils offer genuine challenge, and result in the extension and deepening of their experience. And where classes of young children are so organized that 'there are forty feeding as one' (as Wordsworth said of cattle), this is all but an impossibility. (p. 130)

This passage reveals that Britton's notion of curriculum development is based on a child's fullest possible development at any stage, not on the school's organizational needs. Implicit in the cattle metaphor is the lack of regard for the capabilities of the learner. For Britton, each individual learner constructs meaning which is uniquely personal and constantly evolving as the individual grows through experience. In this way, meaning making is not a collective activity in which a group acts as one. According to Britton, schools need to allow individuals to learn through their experiences while they socially interact with their peers.

Britton's (1986) chart of curriculum objectives serves as a pathway for learner-constructed knowledge and meaning:

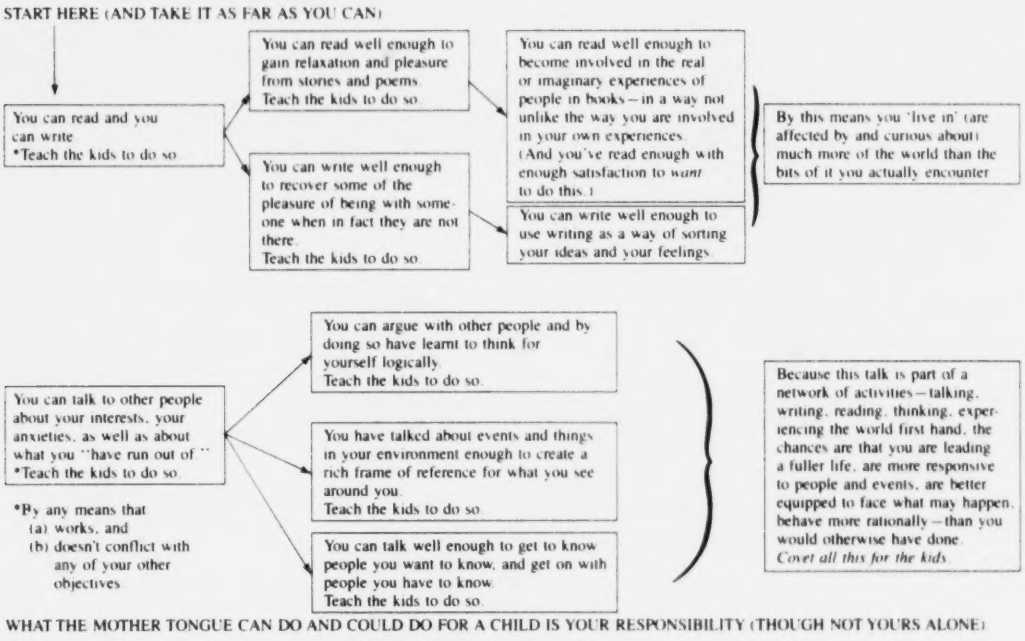
START HERE (AND TAKE IT AS FAR AS YOU CAN)
You can read and you can write. *Teach the kids to do so.
You can read well enough to gain relaxation and pleasure from stories and poems. Teach the kids to do so.
You can write well enough to recover some of the pleasure of being with someone when in fact they are not there. Teach the kids to do so.
You can read well enough to become involved in the real or imaginary experiences of people in books—in a way not unlike the way you are involved in your own experiences. (And you've read enough with enough satisfaction to want to do this.)
You can write well enough to use writing as a way of sorting your ideas and your feelings.
By this means you 'live in' (are affected by and curious about) much more of the world than the bits of it you actually encounter.
You can talk to other people about your interests, your anxieties, as well as about what you "have run out of." *Teach the kids to do so.
*By any means that
(a) works, and
(b) doesn't conflict with any of your other objectives.
You can argue with other people and by doing so have learnt to think for yourself logically. Teach the kids to do so.
You have talked about events and things in your environment enough to create a rich frame of reference for what you see around you. Teach the kids to do so.
You can talk well enough to get to know people you want to know, and get on with people you have to know. Teach the kids to do so.
Because this talk is part of a network of activities—talking, writing, reading, thinking, experiencing the world first hand, the chances are that you are leading a fuller life, are more responsive to people and events, are better equipped to face what may happen, behave more rationally—than you would otherwise have done. Covet all this for the kids.
WHAT THE MOTHER TONGUE CAN DO AND COULD DO FOR A CHILD IS YOUR RESPONSIBILITY (THOUGH NOT YOURS ALONE)

Figure 1. Curriculum Chart (Britton, 1986, p. 154)

The chart begins very simply:

> You can read and you can write. *Teach the kids to do so.
> You can talk to other people about your interests, your anxieties, as well as about what you "have run out of." *Teach the kids to do so. (p. 154)

The teacher-is-learner metaphor is revealed with the teacher recognized as a person who has learned to read, write, think, and talk. The teacher's goal is to share that experience with learners by any means that works and does not conflict with any other objective. The chart continues with the richness and pleasure which the teacher has personally found in using language:

> You can read well enough to gain relaxation and pleasure from stories and poems.
> Teach the kids to do so.
> You can write well enough to recover some of the pleasure of being with someone

> when in fact they are not there. Teach the kids to do so.
> You can argue with other people and by doing so have learnt to think for yourself logically. Teach the kids to do so.
> You have talked about events and things in your environment enough to create a rich frame of reference for what you see around you. Teach the kids to do so.
> You can talk well enough to get to know people you want to know, and get on with people you have to know. Teach the kids to do so. (p. 154)

In each of these statements, Britton uses the teacher-is-learner metaphor which recognizes the teacher as a model for children. The teacher is portrayed as a meaning-maker and co-learner who uses language to construct and reconstruct a knowledge-is-world-representation entity. As each individual teacher decides consciously or subconsciously which events will alter or reinforce that view, each individual learner engages in this process as well.

Britton's (1986) chart continues:

> You can read well enough to become involved in the real or imaginary experiences of people in books--in a way not unlike the way you are involved in your own experiences. (And you've read enough with enough satisfaction to *want* to do this.) (p. 154)

Here Britton points out that motivation is internal. Through an involvement with imaginary experiences, a satisfaction is derived from personally experiencing events and people in books. Britton's curriculum allows both children and teachers to enjoy the experience of reading. Britton (1986) sums up his chart with the following comment: "By this means you 'live in' (are affected by and curious about) much more of the world than the bits of it you actually encounter" (p. 154). The learner's self-constructed world is expanded beyond the *bits* encountered. The learner-is-meaning-maker metaphor, in this way, applies to both teacher and learner and serves as a backdrop for all other classroom activity.

Britton's language about curriculum reveals the learning-is-ongoing-experience metaphor with the learner as the constructor of knowledge. Learners shape curriculum as they engage in negotiating meaning and anticipating future events. Britton emphasizes that this process is seldom lock-step and orderly. The following passage reveals a learning-is-disorderly metaphor as Britton explains that learning is not easily categorized and counted as is the case in a traditional school curriculum:

> If the teacher could be more certain what learning looked like, in some at least of its many guises, he might find it easier to "monitor" his own teaching.

> Since learning doesn't take place to numbers, however, and will probably sometimes take place in a very disorderly fashion, it is impossible to set it out, marshalled and docketed like the exhibits in a museum. Glimpses of it are to be found, first, in what people say to each other. (Barnes et al., 1986, pp. 91-92)

The text reveals a contrast between a traditional, sequential curriculum and a learner-centered curriculum in *it is impossible to set it out, marshalled and docketed like the exhibits in a museum.* Orderly, sequential curriculum guides organizing knowledge, *like the exhibits in a museum,* are not true to the nature of learners and learning, according to Britton. Instead, learners need the time and place to talk and share among peers, and in doing so, to use their own language to reconstruct world representations. To Britton, curriculum centers on the learner who is engaged in the process of constructing knowledge.

Britton categorizes language into three forms, each based on use: expressive, transactional, and poetic. Expressive language is the starting point for both the transactional and poetic uses. Britton's expressive-language-is-all-purpose-instrument metaphor is revealed:

> It was the main purpose of our publication, *The Development of Writing Abilities, 11-18,* to describe those categories (among others). But in addition to describing them we set up a developmental hypothesis, the hypothesis that expressive writing should be regarded as a matrix from which the other two categories would develop. That is to say, expressive writing might be seen as a beginner's all-purpose instrument; and 'learning to write' would involve the progressive evolution of both of the other two forms, transactional and poetic, and of the mature forms of expressive writing that we continue to use in personal letters and the like. (1982, p. 124)

In explaining language development, Britton uses the expressive-language-is-matrix metaphor to illustrate how expressive language serves as an entry point for the two other language forms, transactional and poetic. In all three categories, beginners learn through using language, and through language use, their writing evolves.

Expressive language is a learner's means to his or her reflective processes. Britton explains as he distinguishes between learning language and using language to acquire knowledge:

> But the task is not that of learning a language; rather it is that of acquiring, *by the agency of the language,* the ability to perform these mental operations I have been

> talking about. *A child's language is the means:* in process of meeting new demands--and being helped to meet them--his language takes on new forms that correspond to the new powers as he achieves them. Expressive speech is one of the more accessible forms; the language of scientific hypotheses, spare though it may appear, comes later. (Barnes et al., 1986, pp. 124-125)

The expressive-language-is-means metaphor is used to explain the acquisition of knowledge and the ability to perform mental operations. Implicit in the expressive-language-is-means metaphor is Britton's notion that language and learning closely connect while learners involve themselves in the process of constructing a world representation.

Schools, for the most part, do not recognize the importance of expressive language in the learning process. Britton (1982) cites the infrequent use of expressive writing in curriculum development:

> Since the publication of our report, a number of surveys have been carried out in terms of our function categories, some in England, some in Australia, some in Canada and some in U.S.A. What they indicate is that expressive writing is very little encouraged in most schools, far too little for there to be any evidence regarding our hypothesis that expressive writing is the best starting point for writing in any of the function categories. We hold to our conviction that the quality of learning could be improved if fuller use were made of the heuristic potential of expressive writing. The alternative hypothesis to which teachers must be working might be phrased as follows: "If you limp around long enough in somebody else's language you may eventually learn to walk in it." (pp. 128-129)

Here Britton uses the expressive-writing-is-starting-point metaphor. For Britton, not allowing learners to use the language closest to them is similar to living with a handicap or *limp* with only the hope that one day the handicap will go away. Britton implies that teachers and schools who do not value children's expressive language are not only missing out on a very powerful means for learning but also depriving children of a language which is uniquely theirs.

Britton addresses the need for schools to value children's language and to become more relevant through the creation of learning situations more closely resembling out-of-school learning. He uses a holding-place metaphor to describe the traditional school environment which contrasts with his reliable-environment-of-interdependence metaphor:

> We can no longer regard school learning as simply an interim phase, a period of instruction and apprenticeship that marks the change from immaturity to maturity, from play in the nursery to work in the world. School learning must both build upon the learning of infancy and foster something that will continue and evolve through adult life. (1985, p. 129)

This passage reveals that Britton perceives schools as more than places to keep children until they are grown up. Britton's learning-is-ongoing-experience metaphor underpins curriculum development which values and encourages lifelong learning with open-ended outcomes.

Metaphors for Teacher and Student Roles

The role of the learner, according to Britton, is to construct and reconstruct knowledge which is an evolving internal world representation. In the knowledge-is-world-representation metaphor, learners create their own knowledge, and each learner's knowledge is unique by its very nature of construction and design. The process learners undergo when they are involved in using language to construct their own knowledge-is-world-representation entity is central to Britton's work.

While the learner's role is to construct and reconstruct knowledge, the teacher's role is to create a reliable environment. As Britton (1985) cites Clare Winnicott (1964) to describe the teacher and learner relationship, the reliable-environment-of-interdependence metaphor is revealed through a discussion of professional relationships:

> Our professional relationships are more balanced and more reliable than our personal ones, and it is important that they should be. We look to our *personal* relationships for the satisfaction of our personal *need* for relationships--for instinct satisfaction. (By instinct satisfaction I mean the need to love and be loved in a personal intimate way.) Personal relationships are, therefore, less reliable because they are subject to our needs and demands, to our moods and our jealousies and rivalries. [p. 12] (cited in Britton, p. 183)

Through developing a professional relationship with learners, teachers create a limited and reliable environment for the learner and the teacher--an environment in which the teacher accepts all the learner may put into it, and " 'holds' it, so giving a chance for his own integrative processes to operate" (p. 183). Through posing questions, Britton offers many teacher-role possibilities, all based on a transactions-between-people metaphor. Britton's ability to stimulate thought through questioning as he explores

possible teacher roles is further revealed:

> Given that human life is above all a matter of transactions between people, what kind of relationships should be looked for in a group consisting of thirty odd children and one adult, the adult being charged with responsibility for the learning that brings the group together? Is the teacher to be Lord and Master, or society's plenipotentiary, or a third parent, or a chairman, or 'one of us' but wiser and more experienced? Or perhaps some combination of more specific roles--umpire, cheer-leader, quiz-master, compére, and master of ceremonies? Or is none of these adequate to describe his role? (1985, p. 181)

Each image conjures up a vision for the reader to examine and contemplate. Britton leads the reader to a rhetorical question: *Or is none of these adequate to describe his role?*

In the learner-is-meaning-maker metaphor, the learner's view of the world is crucial to making meaning. In the following passage, Britton (1985) cites the negative and positive power of the teacher's role as revealed in the reflections of a fourteen-year-old boy:

> I remember my first day at school, the christening it was called by the teachers. It was the day on which they picked their favourites and chose the ones they were going to needle. . . .
>
> It was not until the second part of my education that I found real joy in being educated. I found teachers who condemned favouritism and regarded their pupils as equals. (p. 182)

Britton's contrast between teachers who show favoritism and teachers who accept all pupils as equals reminds us of the powerful effect teachers have on children. For the young boy in his early school days, teacher favoritism denied him the joy in being educated. Through the young boy's eyes, Britton illuminates the critical role teachers can play in shaping a child's self-esteem and attitude toward school.

As Britton (1985) explains his notion of the teacher's role, the learning-is-ongoing-experience metaphor is revealed:

> In whatever circumstances, and whether the going is hard or easy, the establishment first of a reciprocal person-to-person relationship and next of a professional relationship with individual children must be sought by any means, while

> at the same time the teacher's management of the group as a whole is conducted in such a way as to threaten least damage to these individual relationships. (p. 188)

Britton uses a reliable-environment-of-interdependence metaphor to explain his view of teacher and learner relationships and the teacher's responsibility in that relationship. The teacher's role in this complex web of relationships is first that of an individual or person, second that of a teacher of individual children, and third that of a teacher of a group or class.

The teacher's role in light of Britton's learning-is-ongoing-experience metaphor is contingent upon the teacher's authority over the group which Britton points out is really derived from the group itself. Britton (1985) views this authority as emerging from "both the integrity of his concern for the group and the quality of his relations with the members as individuals authorize him to wield it" (p. 187). Britton refers to mutual respect in classrooms as a cooperative effort which creates a comfortable and safe learning environment for both learners and teachers.

Embodied in the learning-is-ongoing-experience metaphor is the network metaphor which Britton (1986a) uses in his chart to explain the importance of teacher participation in the classroom:

> Because this talk is part of the network of activities--talking, writing, reading, thinking, experiencing the world first hand, the chances are that you are leading a fuller life, are more responsive to people and events, are better equipped to face what may happen, behave more rationally--than you would otherwise have done. *Covet all this for the kids.* (p. 154)

The talk-spins-the-web-of-relationships metaphor reveals the intricate network of shifting teacher roles all operating in the classroom. To Britton, when teachers are involved in learning and join their students in the learning process, they become co-learners in the learning-is-ongoing-experience metaphor. When teachers and learners share interpretations and world representations, they also share in the responsibility for learning. At the bottom of the chart is Britton's (1986) statement which clarifies his view of shared teacher-learner responsibility: "WHAT THE MOTHER TONGUE CAN DO AND COULD DO FOR A CHILD IS YOUR RESPONSIBILITY (THOUGH NOT YOURS ALONE)" (p. 154). The mother-tongue metaphor is a unifying factor in the classroom. The metaphor refers to native English speakers as a commonality of learners. Britton sees common language as the mother who links learners and teachers. Implicit in the phrase *mother tongue* are the ideas that learning is reached through language and that language like a mother gives birth to new ideas and/or new ways of perceiving the world. Language is a system that nurtures learners and teachers when they use it to

experience the many pleasures, joys, and frustrations of learning. This metaphor features social interaction as the primary focus in the classroom.

Metaphors for Academic Decision Making

To Britton, learners shape their personal-knowledge entity by the decisions they make. In order for students to explore and shape their thoughts, the teacher provides certain elements which ensure students this freedom. Britton (1982) cites Lanny Morreau's thirteen characteristics which, for the most part, he accepts and endorses. Each characteristic allows students the opportunity to construct their own knowledge-is-world-representation entity:

> The student should be:
>
> 1. provided with the freedom to choose from alternatives.
> 2. provided with numerous alternatives from which to choose.
> 3. able to make inputs into educational planning and sequencing.
> 4. assured a minimal skill and knowledge level from which to make decisions.
> 5. provided with a precise description as to what is expected from him and how he will be evaluated.
> 6. provided with constant feedback regarding his progress.
> 7. able to progress at his own rate.
> 8. able to determine when he has been successful.
> 9. able to determine what he will gain from a specific course of study before he enters it.
> 10. provided with a learning environment that is free of punishment.
> 11. provided with a learning environment in which he can consistently receive positive consequences (reinforcement) for successful task completion.
> 12. provided with an environment where the focus of teacher behavior is on his individual needs.
> 13. able to increasingly assume responsibility for his own development. [Henry B. Maloney, ed., *Goal Making for English Teaching.* NCTE, 1973, pp. 72-76] (pp. 153-154)

In Britton's discussion of these characteristics, he states that he is in substantial agreement with Morreau. All thirteen focus on the student's responsibility for making decisions about his or her own learning.

Britton (1985) views the learner as a curious scientist who makes predictions about the world based on past experience as he explains how new encounters affect world representations:

> It is as though, in confrontation, my world representation were a body of expectations from which I select and match: the selecting and matching being in response to whatever cues the situation offers (but influenced also by my mood of the moment). What takes place in the confrontation may contradict or modify or confirm my expectations. My expectations are hypotheses which I submit to the test of encounter with the actual. The outcome affects not only my representation of the present moment, but, if necessary, my whole accumulated representation of the world. *Every encounter with the actual is an experimental committal of all I have learned from experience. . . .*
>
> The scientist's method of inquiry is to formulate hypotheses, or make predictions about the way things are, and then to put these to the test of what actually happens, and reframe his hypothesis in the light of what does happen. (pp. 15-16)

From Britton's perspective, the learner brings certain expectations to each new experience. The expectations are verified or proven false, and the student reframes present and past experiences in light of these findings, much as a scientist.

Britton uses a symbolic-system metaphor along with the student-is-scientist metaphor to explain the significance of events in the creation of a world representation. Each event in a student's life is viewed as a passing representation in the mind. In the following passage, Britton discusses the symbolic-system metaphor as it relates to the knowledge-is-world-representation metaphor:

> A system of representation. So that man receives the signals from the outside world, building them into his world picture--his representation from past experience of what the world is like--and responds, not directly to the incoming signals, but in the light of his total representation: he responds, in other words, to the incoming signals *as interpreted by the representation. . . .* We habitually take the signals in and interpret them in the light of our past experiences--of stairways, and people, and the world in general. (1982, p. 101)

The student interprets signals in light of a past-experience entity which in itself is an evolving framework and subject to new interpretations. For Britton, the learner undergoes a process of reconstructing the

personal past-world-representation entity to include new knowledge about the world which is based upon interpretations of external signals.

Academic decision making for Britton is viewed through the learner-is-meaning-maker metaphor and emphasizes the need for learners to make meaningful personal choices about their relationships and their work. Britton (1985) uses the learner-is-decision-maker metaphor to explain the learner's need to become an independent thinker:

> What is required today, it seems to me, is an urgent look at our secondary education having in mind the need of the adolescent to become himself: to make important choices about himself and his work and his relationships: to match his individuation with involvement--intellectual, aesthetic, social, moral: to commit himself: to make independent decisions rather than merely keep promises: his need to be trusted. There is much that wants altering both in the way institutions are organized and controlled and in the way teaching and learning are related in the classroom. (p. 272)

Britton views learners as intellectual, aesthetic, social, and moral; and in all aspects learners need to make meaningful decisions. Through making decisions in one aspect, learners grow in all aspects of their lives. In this sense, through the decision-making process, learners grow to become themselves. Learners' needs are illuminated in this passage along with the school's inability to provide for these needs. Britton perceives the school as existing as a deficit model in contrast with a learner's goal of functioning as a decision maker in search of meaning and personal identity.

Embodied in the learning-is-ongoing-experience metaphor is the idea that learners continue to make decisions as they construct and reconstruct their own knowledge. Britton (1985) cites Gusdorf (1965) to identify the role teachers play in helping learners make their own decisions about learning:

> To be open to the speech of others is to grasp it in its best sense, continually striving not to reduce it to the common denominator of banality, but to find in it something original. By doing this, moreover, by helping the other use his own voice, one will stimulate him to discover his innermost need. Such is the task of the teacher, if, going beyond the monologue of instruction, he knows how to carry the pedagogical task into authentic dialogue where personality is developed. [p. 125]

The text reveals that teachers need to go beyond academic instruction to help learners personally develop and discover their own identities. Britton uses the reliable-environment-of-interdependence

metaphor in *To be open to the speech of others.* In the reliable environment, the teacher suspends judgment and allows learners to explore their own possibilities and the possibilities of others. Through this process, teachers build relationships with learners which Britton (1982) explains is the first step to learning: "If learning is an interactive process, we can't teach people we don't know, so the building of a personal relationship comes logically first" (p. 205). Through social interaction and negotiation with peers and teachers, learners practice their decision-making skills which in turn lead to personal development.

The learning-is-ongoing-experience metaphor has as its focus learners' interaction and their anticipation of events. In this context, Britton (1982) refers to Kelly who, like himself, "would want learning within school to be as much like everyday learning (in the school experience) as possible" (p. 158). Britton continues to offer reasons for supporting the idea that decisions about the daily operations in school should be grounded in how children learn:

> For one thing, a great deal of learning has been achieved before a child arrives at school; surely we must build on that. We may accelerate it, facilitate it, intensify it; but we should not, if Kelly is right, want to change its nature. Learning in the school of experience is the pursuit of curiosity; that means growth from an individual center on an individual, unified pattern. The growth of a plant is an organic process and is reflected in the organic shape the plant takes. If we could take this for an image of an individual child's learning from infancy and right through school we might be in a better position to plan our own teaching. We are more likely, I believe, to think of it in terms of frost forming on the boughs we offer him. (p. 158)

The text reveals the circulatory metaphor to explain personal growth and the plant metaphor to show that learning is like a plant that grows in its own design. In order for children to develop in their own design, they need to practice making decisions for themselves. Implicit in the plant metaphor is the idea that learners, given time, grow in their own design contrary to the idea that teachers offer *boughs* upon which *frost* is formed for children.

Britton contrasts his school-of-experience metaphor with the way schools and society often think about learning. Britton (1985) addresses the common assumption made often by schools and society:

> The idea that learning is something you do sitting in a seat is a highly sophisticated notion and, to a young child, a very peculiar one. It symbolizes, probably more sharply than anything else, the long-standing traditional distinction between school learning and

> the kind of learning we all undertake from time to time at home, in the street, in strange cities, in the countryside--and many other places. Yes, we may also visit a library and learn a good deal without stirring from the seat, but to do so betokens a high level of verbal sophistication on our part. (pp. 128-129)

Recognizing the influence of a network of peers with shared values has on its individual members, especially in the secondary school population, Britton recommends discovering ways to use the energy of this group to positive ends. "Part of the answer will certainly lie in the teachers' attempts to make in-school learning more like out-of-school" (Barnes et al., 1986, p. 106).

CHAPTER IV

TRACING OF HUNTER'S AND BRITTON'S SOURCES

Hunter

Although Hunter does not cite sources in her text, her metaphors are reflected in the works of Skinner (1953, 1971), Thorndike (1911, 1913), Block (1971), Bloom (1956), and Brophy and Good (1980). In tracing the sources for Hunter's metaphors in the identified selected text, I will note internal contradictions, recurring metaphors, and anecdotal references.

Metaphors for Learning

Hunter's knowledge-is-entity metaphor is parallel to Skinner's (1953) definition of knowledge in which he refers to knowledge as an entity enhanced by formal education:

> The entity which is traditionally said to be maximized by education is called "knowledge." The term refers to some of the most complex kinds of human behavior,
> . . . . We sometimes use the term to represent simply the probability of skilled behavior. A man "knows how to write" in the sense that he possesses behavior with pen and paper which will be emitted under suitable circumstances. . . . In a similar sense he knows how to hit a tennis ball or sing a tune. . . . Usually, however, knowledge refers to a controlling relation between behavior and discriminative stimuli. The response may be skilled, but we are concerned primarily with whether it will be made upon the proper occasion. Thus, skilled movements are needed in driving a car, but knowing how to drive a car is making the proper responses at appropriate times. (p. 408)

Here Skinner refers to knowledge as an entity which is sometimes used to represent skilled behavior or the relationship between behavior and stimuli. Moreover, Skinner views writing as the possession of certain mechanical skills at times appropriate to the circumstances. According to Skinner, knowing how and what to write is part of the entity which is traditionally maximized by formal education.

Hunter's knowledge-is-entity and teacher-is-meaning-maker-for-others metaphors are reflected in Thorndike's explanation of knowledge and learning. Thorndike (1913) perceives knowledge to be an entity and cites William James to illustrate the manner in which new knowledge

entities are created through bonds or associations. In the following diagram, two knowledge entities *a* and *b* are shown to interact in varied degrees depending on the associations which the student perceives between the two entities:

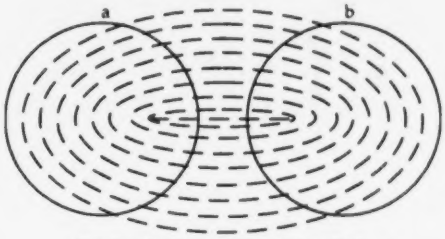

Fig. 7. After James ['93, vol. I, p. 580].

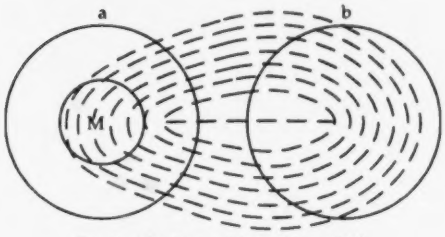

Fig. 8. After James ['93, vol. I, p. 580].

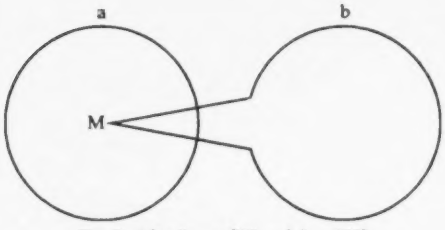

Fig. 9. After James ['93, vol. I, p. 580].

Figure 2. Knowledge Entity Bonds (Thorndike, 1913, p. 50)

The dotted lines represent associations or bonds in diagrams 7 and 8. In diagram 7, both entities are absorbed to become a new entity. In diagram 8, only part of entity *a* connects with entity *b*, and in diagram 9, an even smaller part of entity *a* connects. The area of the entity that does not connect in diagrams 8 and 9 becomes an unlearned entity and serves as a basis for Hunter's unlearned-material-entity metaphor.

The teacher-is-meaning-maker-for-others metaphor parallels Thorndike's notion of teaching and learning in that it is the teacher who makes meaning through the arrangement of situations which lead to the formation of bonds: "Learning is connecting; and teaching is the arrangement of

situations which will lead to desirable bonds and make them satisfying" (1913, p. 55). To Thorndike, one mental fact is hooked or connected to another in order to create bonds. Thorndike notes that the laws related to the formation of bonds are significant for education because teachers can make bonds or associations for students between learned and unlearned entities.

Hunter's learning-is-teacher-directed-journey metaphor embodies the conduit metaphor which is similar to Skinner's (1953) perception of the relationship between speaker and listener during instruction:

> A verbal repertoire also gains importance from the fact that it may have concurrent effects upon other behavior of the individual. One such effect is most easily observed when the verbal repertoire and the change in behavior are located in different organisms. The speaker has many effects upon the listener. One of these may conveniently be called "instruction." The verbal stimulus generated by the speaker alters the probability of a verbal or nonverbal response in the listener. (pp. 409-410)

According to Skinner, instruction is one of the effects a speaker may have on a listener. Implicit in this stimulus-response view of instruction is the conduit metaphor. The speaker's verbal repertoire stimulates a verbal or nonverbal response from the listener. According to Skinner, instruction affects the student as the speaker transmits the verbal repertoire or knowledge entity. A verbal or nonverbal response from the listener indicates that the verbal repertoire has had an effect upon the listener.

In addition, the reinforcement of predictable behavior through operant conditioning forms the center of Skinner's and Hunter's works. When listeners respond as the instructor intends, they are rewarded; and when listeners do not respond as the instructor intends, they are not rewarded. Stimulus response serves Skinner (1953) as a means to predict and control behavior through response reinforcement:

> A response which has already occurred cannot, of course, be predicted or controlled. We can only predict that *similar* responses will occur in the future. The unit of a predictive science is, therefore, not a response but a class of responses. The word "operant" will be used to describe this class. The term emphasizes the fact that the behavior *operates* upon the environment to generate consequences. (pp. 64-65)

The predictability of behavior is based on operant behavior theory. Skinner (1953) discusses predictability of behavior in school settings as in the reinforcement of desired behavior through the use of educational rewards or educational tokens such as marks, diplomas, and grades (p. 80).

According to Skinner, schools operate on predictability of behavior. To this end, Skinner (1953) defines learning:

> The term "learning" may profitably be saved in its traditional sense to describe the reassortment of responses in a complex situation. Terms for the process of stamping in may be borrowed from Pavlov's analysis of the conditioned reflex. Pavlov himself called all events which strengthened behavior "reinforcement" and all the resulting changes "conditioning." In the Pavlovian experiment, however, a reinforcer is paired with a *stimulus;* whereas in operant behavior it is contingent upon a *response.* Operant reinforcement is therefore a separate process and requires a separate analysis. In both cases, the strengthening of behavior which results from reinforcement is appropriately called "conditioning." In operant conditioning we "strengthen" an operant in the sense of making a response more probable or, in actual fact, more frequent. (p. 65)

Although Skinner's view of the reinforcer varies from Pavlov's, Skinner is in agreement with Pavlov on the means to strengthen behavior which he calls conditioning. Hunter, in comparison, perceives a relationship between the student's probability of learning and the teacher's ability to use linear sequencing in lectures and to reinforce desired outcomes through sufficient practice. In this way, learning is a teacher-directed journey.

Metaphors for Curriculum Development

Hunter's building-block-curriculum metaphor is similar to Bloom's (1956) taxonomy which divides a knowledge entity and categorizes its parts from lower-level or basic knowledge to higher-level or complex learnings. Bloom recommends formulative testing to help students pace themselves through the curriculum:

> We find that the appropriate use of the tests helps ensure the thorough mastery of each set of learning tasks before subsequent tasks are started. . . .
>
> For students who fail to master a given unit, the tests should pinpoint their particular learning difficulties--that is, the specific questions answered incorrectly

> and thus the particular ideas, skills, and processes which need additional work. (cited in Block, 1971, p. 58)

Here, Bloom's notion of formal testing parallels Hunter's diagnostic testing for the purpose of past-curricular-knowledge-entity identification. When students master one increment of knowledge, both Bloom and Hunter recommend that they continue with the next, more difficult step. In this way, curriculum is a building-block process which is learned and mastered one step at a time.

Hunter's building-block curriculum is similar to Block's mastery learning and programmed instruction models. Mastery learning, according to Block (1971), is more effective with some subjects than others:

> Mastery learning strategies also have been most effective for subjects which are *sequentially learned.* Such subjects consist of a number of well-defined units whose learning is cumulative in that the learning of any unit builds upon the learning of all prior units. For example, reading is usually learned sequentially. Each chapter in a first-grade reader builds upon the vocabulary and syntactical structures presented in the preceding chapters. Similarly, the first chapter in the second-grade primer is likely to assume a student's familiarity with all the material learned in the first-grade.
>
> . . . . The learning of any sequential subject depends upon the learning of each of its units. If at each stage in the sequence the student learns the material upon which the next unit builds, then his learning throughout the sequence is likely to be adequate. However, if he fails to learn at one stage and his learning difficulties are not resolved, he will probably fail to learn the unit at the next stage and, consequently, all subsequent units. (p. 66)

According to Block, mastery learning approaches for subjects which he perceives as sequentially learned, like reading, are highly effective. Hunter's view of writing is consistent with Block's sequential view of reading. To Hunter, sentence completion is prerequisite to paragraph writing which is prerequisite to essay writing. Explicit in *The learning of any sequential subject depends upon the learning of its units* is the building-block-curriculum metaphor. Hunter's notion of learning to write is rooted in Block's learning theory with prerequisite learnings.

Behaviorists (Thorndike, Skinner, Block, Bloom, Brophy and Good) view human behavior in the context of stimulus-response, cause-effect relationships which can be manipulated through

reinforcement. From the behaviorist point of view, behavior or activity is observed and classified as either positive or negative. To Hunter, who relates this concept to classroom settings, the student is viewed as learning when the student fulfills the predetermined outcomes for a specific situation.

Hunter's predetermined-outcomes metaphor parallels Skinner (1953) who addresses the problem of observing internal or private aspects of human beings which are not activity-oriented or easily observable:

> When we say that behavior is a function of the environment, the term "environment" presumably means any event in the universe capable of affecting the organism. But part of the universe is enclosed within the organism's own skin. Some independent variables may, therefore, be related to behavior in a unique way. The individual's response to an inflamed tooth, for example, is unlike the response which anyone else can make to that particular tooth, since no one else can establish the same kind of contact with it. Events which take place during emotional excitement or in states of deprivation are often uniquely accessible for the same reason; in this sense our joys, sorrows, loves, and hates are peculiarly our own. With respect to each individual, in other words, a small part of the universe is *private.* (p. 257)

Skinner recognizes that private worlds cannot be easily accessed for observation. But, he continues with the notion that internal stimulating effects are the same as external stimulating effects:

> We need not suppose that events which take place within an organism's skin have special properties for that reason. A private event may be distinguished by its limited accessibility but not, so far as we know, by any special structure or nature. We have no reason to suppose that the stimulating effect of an inflamed tooth is essentially different from that of, say, a hot stove. (pp. 257-258)

Skinner does suggest that in order to explore the private worlds of human beings another mode of inquiry other than the study of behavior is needed:

> The scientist humbly admits that he is describing only half the universe, and he defers to another world--a world of mind or consciousness--for which another mode of inquiry is assumed to be required. Such a point of view is by no means

> inevitable, but it is part of the cultural heritage from which science has emerged. It obviously stands in the way of a unified account of nature. (p. 258)

Skinner recognizes that private worlds, the world of mind and consciousness, are difficult, if not impossible, to observe. As a result, Skinner does not attend to this human dimension. Rather, both Skinner and Hunter focus on overt responses which are easily recognizable, categorized, and reinforced.

Metaphors for Teacher and Student Roles

According to Hunter, the role of the teacher is to design the proper environment for student learning and, through reinforcement, to cause student responses which are labeled desirable. Hunter identifies learning as someone reaching a teacher's desirable responses. Implicit in this behaviorist view of learning is the teacher-is-healer metaphor. The teacher like a doctor diagnoses students' needs and heals them through the use of learning principles. Students are portrayed as deficient and dependent on the teacher for help. In addition, students are viewed as being responsive to certain conditions and with these conditions students can be manipulated. Students, according to Skinner (1953), can be changed into better products through reinforcement (pp. 426-427).

Implicit in Skinner's definition of learning (1953) is Hunter's notion of teacher and student roles. Teachers possess a knowledge entity which they pass on to students; teachers observe verbal and nonverbal signs as an indication that a knowledge entity has affected the student; and they reinforce positive responses. It is the teacher's role to order curriculum entities (Block, 1971) sequentially and to gauge time needed for maximum degree of learning.

Students, on the other hand, according to Hunter, are to be filled with knowledge. Hunter's student-is-a-container metaphor is similar to Skinner's notion that human behavior can be controlled by replacing undesirable behaviors in the student with desirable behaviors. Skinner (1953) recognizes the influence of culture on humans and poses several questions related to the manipulation of cultural environment in order to produce more desirable human products: "Why should the design of a culture be left so largely to accident? Is it not possible to change the social environment deliberately so that the human product will meet more acceptable specifications?" (pp. 426-427). Skinner continues by citing several examples of cultural manipulation which include social legislation, new techniques in psychotherapy, experimental curricula in schools, and industrial changes. Skinner further explains:

> These are all examples of the manipulation of small parts of the social environment; what is called "Utopian" thinking embraces the design of a culture as a whole.
>
> The deliberate manipulation of the culture is therefore itself a characteristic of many cultures--a fact to be accounted for in a scientific analysis of human behavior. Proposing a change in a cultural practice, making such a change, and accepting such a change are all parts of our subject matter. Although this is one of the most complex of human activities, the basic pattern seems clear. Once a given feature of an environment has been shown to have an effect upon human behavior which is reinforcing, either in itself or as an escape from a more aversive condition, constructing such an environment is as easily explained as building a fire or closing a window when a room grows cold. (p. 427)

Human beings, according to Skinner, are receptacles or containers of culture, and the manipulation of cultural environment can produce more desirable products or human beings. Hunter translates this notion to classroom settings through her view of students as containers and teachers as transmitters of that knowledge. Teaching, in this context, is filling containers or students with knowledge deemed appropriate by the teacher.

Metaphors for Academic Decision Making

Brophy and Good's (1980) work parallels Hunter's decision-making metaphors: "Anyone who attempts to instruct others . . . can benefit from thinking about and using a decision-making model" (p. 3). According to Brophy and Good, teachers make decisions about instructional objectives, task analysis, and testing. Brophy and Good offer a decision-making model adapted from a paper presented at the 1978 American Educational Research Association meeting by Richard J. Shavelson which categorizes instructional decisions in the following way: nature of instructional task; individual differences between teachers, such as educational beliefs and cognitive styles; estimates of student states; alternative instructional strategies and materials; cues about students; and institutional constraints (p. 9).

According to Brophy and Good (1980), the difference between effective teachers and ineffective teachers is a matter of self-perception: effective teachers hold themselves responsible for making decisions. Brophy and Good substantiate their view by citing a description of teacher effectiveness generated by Brophy and Evertson (1976) which can be paralleled with Hunter's teacher-is-decision-maker metaphor:

> Successful teachers saw teaching as an interesting and worthwhile challenge, approached by assuming personal responsibility for the learning of their students. Successful teachers saw problems, but believed that the problems could be overcome, and were therefore motivated to search for solutions. (cited in Brophy and Good, p. 12)

The teacher who assumes personal responsibility for a student's learning is viewed by Brophy, Good, and Hunter as an effective teacher. Brophy and Good elaborate:

> Successful teachers held realistic attitudes toward students. They liked them and enjoyed interpersonal interaction with them, but basically they saw students as learners. . . .
>
> Successful teachers look upon themselves as diagnosticians and problem solvers rather than as parent-substitutes or disciplinarians. Their goal is to design environments that work. The basic task of the teacher is to help students to learn, not to accept classroom problems and student limitations as unchangeable. The task of teaching is to face problems and work toward their resolution. (p. 12)

According to Brophy and Good, effective teachers are diagnosticians and problem solvers who make decisions for students in order to enhance their learning. Decision-making ability and a willingness to be a decision maker are critical attributes of effective teachers. Brophy, Good, and Hunter view the main role of the teacher as designer of a teacher-centered environment in which teachers are decision makers.

Block's (1971) work, like Hunter's, in mastery teaching and programmed instruction illustrates that most students will attain a prescribed criteria of achievement if they are allowed appropriate time. Time needed and time spent in learning, according to Block, determine the degree of learning. Block (1971) refers to John Carroll's definition of aptitudes to clarify his view of degree of learning:

> Carroll defined aptitudes as measuring the amount of time required to learn a task to a given criterion level under ideal instructional conditions. In its simplest form, his model proposed that if each student was allowed the time he needed to learn to some level and he spent the required learning time, then he could be expected to attain the level. However, if the student was not allowed enough time, then the degree to which he could be expected to learn was a function of the ratio of the

time actually spent in learning to the time needed:

$$\text{Degree of Learning} = f\left[\frac{\text{time actually spent}}{\text{time needed}}\right]$$

Figure 3. Degree of Learning Formula (Block, 1971, p. 5)

Block's mastery learning and programmed instruction strategies are based on Carroll's degree of learning formula, which is used to describe and measure movement through the building-block curriculum. Hunter's time-is-money metaphor is similar to Block's and Carroll's formula for degree of learning. For Block, Carroll, and Hunter, a high rate of learning is highly regarded since to them time is the coin of teaching. Hunter's instructional theory into practice model for effective teaching (ITIP) parallels programmed instruction as the means to learning. Block (1971) describes programmed learning and its major components:

> Programed instruction operationalized this theory as follows. The criterion behavior was analyzed into a hierarchy of component behaviors. Each component behavior was then presented in the basic programed learning unit, the instructional frame. At a frame's completion, the pupil responded to a simple diagnostic question designed to indicate mastery or non-mastery of the behavior presented, and he was given immediate feedback on the adequacy of his response. If his response was correct, his learning was reinforced and he proceeded to the next frame (i.e., behavior). If incorrect, his error was immediately corrected so that misunderstandings were not propagated. (p. 4)

Hunter's ITIP model is based on cause-effect relationships which underpin programmed learning. Teachers transmit knowledge through more effective lessons so that students learn more. The vehicle is a conduit by which knowledge is transmitted. Moreover, several of Hunter's texts for teachers, *Teach More Faster* (1986d), *Reinforcement* (1985b), *Teach for Transfer* (1985c), *Motivation* (1985a), are subtitled *A Programed Book*. Each book is self-paced with questions and answers, and teachers work their way through each learning principle. Hunter's vehicle for instruction is based on her key principles of motivation, retention, reinforcement, and transfer. In this light, several of Hunter's teacher education books as well as her instructional model are based on programmed learning and viewed by her as a teacher-directed journey.

Programmed learning and skills-based curriculum underpin Hunter's metaphors which are

rooted in behaviorist theory of cause-effect relationships and reinforcement. Hunter's work, in part, parallels the works of Skinner, Thorndike, Block, Bloom, and Brophy and Good.

Britton

Britton's metaphors identified in the selected text in part are reflected in the work of Dewey (1900/1971, 1902/1971), Vygotsky (1934/1987), Kelly (1963), Langer (1957), Cassirer (1967), and Polanyi (1969). Internal contradictions, recurring metaphors, and anecdotal references will be noted in the following delineation.

Metaphors for Learning

Britton's knowledge-is-world-representation metaphor is similar to Kelly's idea of personal constructs. Kelly (1963) explains construction systems as the evolving framework through which people shape their world:

> Man looks at his world through transparent patterns or templets which he creates and then attempts to fit over the realities of which the world is composed. The fit is not always very good. Yet without such patterns the world appears to be such an undifferentiated homogeneity that man is unable to make any sense out of it. Even a poor fit is more helpful to him than nothing at all.
>
> Let us give the name *constructs* to these patterns that are tentatively tried on for size. They are ways of construing the world. They are what enables man, and lower animals too, to chart a course of behavior, explicitly formulated or implicitly acted out, verbally expressed or utterly inarticulate, consistent with other courses of behavior or inconsistent with them, intellectually reasoned or vegetatively sensed. (pp. 8-9)

Kelly describes a construct as an evolving templet through which the events of life are viewed and decisions are made. The templet or pattern is similar to and consistent with Britton's world-representation metaphor. Both metaphors portray learners as decision makers who chart their own course of behavior.

Further, Kelly (1963) credits Dewey as a major influence for his own thinking about personal constructs:

> Dewey, whose philosophy and psychology can be read between many of the lines of the psychology of personal constructs, envisioned the universe as an ongoing affair which had to be anticipated to be understood. (p. 154)

In the following passage, Dewey's influence on Kelly's evolving construct can be seen as Dewey (1900/1971) discusses a new view of the mind: "Now we believe in the mind as a growing affair, and hence as essentially changing, presenting distinctive phases of capacity and interest at different periods" (p. 102). Britton's knowledge-is-world-representation metaphor, which portrays knowledge as an ongoing developmental process, is consistent with Kelly's concept of a personal construct. Both place the learner at the center of constructing and reconstructing knowledge. Dewey's influence on the psychology of personal constructs has influenced both Kelly and Britton.

Britton's learning-is-meaning-maker metaphor, which embodies the network metaphor, reflects Langer's (1957) idea that meaning is shaped as the speaker talks. Britton likens this shaping at the point of utterance to pushing a boat out to sea with a trust that it will come to shore somewhere (p. 139). Vygotsky's idea of the significance of the intricate network of social interaction and social talk to language development has also influenced Britton's notion of inner talk and shaping meaning:

> Thus our schema of development--first social, then egocentric, then inner speech--contrasts both with the traditional behaviorist schema--vocal speech, whisper, inner speech--and with Piaget's sequence--from nonverbal autistic thought through egocentric thought and speech to socialized speech and logical thinking.
>
> We mentioned the behavioristic schema only because it happened to look so similar, methodologically, to Piaget's. Its author, John Watson, suggested that the transition from voiced speech to inner speech must involve an intermediate whispering stage. Developing the same idea of an intermediate stage, which he assumed to be egocentric, Piaget linked with its help autistic thought and logical reasoning.
>
> We see how different is the picture of the development of the child's speech and thought depending on what is considered to be a starting point of such development. In our conception, the true direction of the development of thinking is not from the individual to the social, but from the social to the individual. (Vygotsky, 1934/1987, pp. 35-36)

According to Vygotsky, social interaction fosters an individual's language development and thinking skills. With this notion, a total network of processes shapes language and thought development simultaneously. Thus, Vygotsky concludes that individual learners make meaning for themselves through their social interaction.

Interrelated processes, to Vygotsky, are necessary for the individual's total development. When reporting his findings about instruction and psychological foundations, Vygotsky (1934/1987) clarifies the effects of instruction on development:

> Thus our investigation shows that the development of the psychological foundations of instruction in basic subjects does not precede instruction, but unfolds in a continuous interaction with the contributions of instruction. (p. 184)

Here, Vygotsky refers to the interactions of instruction and psychological foundations as the key to development. Vygotsky's work undergirds Britton's network metaphor with which Britton, like Vygotsky, views the learner as the maker of meaning who through this process develops psychologically.

Britton's learning-is-student-directed-experience metaphor portrays the learner as involved in a continuous process of reinterpreting internalized experiences. This is similar to Kelly's concept of personal growth which occurs through personal involvement in construing and reconstruing the world. Kelly (1963) emphasizes the importance of a learner's personal involvement in life's events: "It is not what happens around him that makes a man experienced; it is the successive construing and reconstruing of what happens, as it happens, that enriches the experience of his life" (p. 73). To both Kelly and Britton learning is influenced not by what happens around the learner, but rather by what the learner makes of what happens.

Britton (1985) likens his notion of learners engaged in constructing their world representations to Kelly's ideas of the learner's personal engagement in the process of construing and reconstruing events:

> The outcome of this process, and the equivalent in Kelly's theory of what we [Britton has] have called the 'world representation', is a person's 'construction system'. (p. 17)

Here Britton refers to his world representation, which embodies the learning-is-student-directed-experience metaphor as being equivalent to Kelly's construction system. Britton (1986) defines knowledge as "an activity which would be better described as a process of knowing" (cited in Polanyi,

1969, p. 132). Knowing is viewed by Britton as "constructing a version of the unfamiliar from the raw material of the familiar" (Barnes et al., 1986, p. 109). To Polanyi, Kelly, and Britton the learner constructing and reconstructing experience is at the heart of learning.

Metaphors for Curriculum Development

Britton's language-is-means-to-curriculum metaphor embodies the speech-is-foundation and expressive-language-is-matrix-and-starting-point metaphors which are rooted in Vygotsky's language development theory. The language development metaphors illustrate the relationship between early speech and written language development. Britton (1982) stresses the importance of Vygotsky's theory:

> In the light of current school practices, it is as important as ever today to stress Vygotsky's view that learning to read and learning to write must be seen as inseparable aspects of one process, that of mastering written language. We have come to recognize the way this process is grounded in speech but have not yet acknowledged the essential contribution of other forms of symbolic behavior, gesture, make-believe play, pictorial representations. (p. 62)

Here, Britton builds on Vygotsky's view of learning to read and write to include other forms of verbal and nonverbal behavior such as make-believe play, storytelling, and related talk. Britton identifies these activities as the early steps of written language: "As I have suggested, I believe it is this characteristic that develops a need for the written language in young children and the intention to master it" (p. 62). Britton's view of curriculum development parallels Vygotsky's language development theory in which speech is the foundation for the development of written language and thinking skills. One important aspect that storytelling, make-believe play, and related talk can offer children is the opportunity to grow through their own language at all levels in their development.

Britton's past-personal-knowledge-entity metaphor in relationship to curriculum development is similar to Dewey's view of the child as one who lives in a somewhat narrow world of personal contacts and needs to personalize events and experiences in order to learn from them. Dewey (1902/1971) explains this personalization of events which becomes the child's own past-personal-knowledge-entity:

> Things hardly come within his [child's] experience unless they touch, intimately and obviously, his own well-being, or that of his family and friends. His world is a

> world of persons with their personal interests, rather than a realm of facts and laws. Not truth, in the sense of conformity to external fact, but affection and sympathy, is its keynote. (p. 5)

Since children are not affected by events unless these events directly touch their lives, Dewey emphasizes the necessity for children to become personally involved in the learning experience. Dewey continues in the passage to speak against a content-driven curriculum in which classes are classified and facts are separate from experience; rather, Dewey encourages a child's involvement in curricular decisions in order to develop personal interests. In this way, Britton's past-personal-knowledge-entity metaphor focuses on the learner constructing knowledge through personal interest and social interaction.

To contrast the learner-centered, language-is-means-to-curriculum with traditional school curriculum, Britton uses the cattle and holding-place metaphors to emphasize the importance of the individual as well as the need to base curriculum on how children learn. Vygotsky (1934/1987) maintains that curriculum and teaching can be directed toward concept acquisition, but concepts cannot be directly taught:

> Practical experience also shows that direct teaching of concepts is impossible and fruitless. A teacher who tries to do this usually accomplishes nothing but empty verbalism, a parrotlike repetition of words by the child, simulating a knowledge of the corresponding concepts but actually covering up a vacuum. (p. 150)

According to Vygotsky, the teacher-driven curriculum portrays learning to be parrotlike repetition, instead of fostering student-directed experiences.

Britton's learning-is-student-directed-experiences metaphor as it applies to curriculum development is similar to Kelly's (1963) notion that learners need to express themselves in various ways and to evaluate their own learning:

> Rather than throwing the emphasis upon knowledge of preconceived results, we have chosen to throw the emphasis upon availability of results in general as a facilitating condition for the formation of new constructs. In this manner the subject [learner] is permitted to phrase his experience in different ways. If he wishes to make long-range predictions, he is not plagued with moment-by-moment "outcomes." (p. 164)

Curriculum driven by predetermined outcomes limits learners in their interpretation of experiences and impedes their ability to make long-range predictions. Both Britton and Kelly emphasize the ongoing formation of new constructs which is the basis for Britton's learning-is-student-directed-experiences metaphor in which the learner is open to many possible interpretations of experiences.

Metaphors for Teacher and Student Roles

Embodied in Britton's reliable-environment-of-interdependence metaphor is the teacher-is-listener metaphor which portrays the teacher as one who values and accepts learners as individuals who are capable of constructing their own knowledge. This notion parallels Kelly's theory of experience and learning:

> [T]he problem of learning is not merely one of determining how *many* or what kinds of reinforcements fix a response, or how *many* nonreinforcements extinguish it, but rather, how does the subject phrase the experience, what recurrent themes does he hear, what movements does he define, and what validations of his predictions does he reap? When a subject fails to meet the experimenter's expectations, it may be inappropriate to say that "he has not learned": rather, one might say that what the subject learned was not what the experimenter expected him to learn. (1963, p. 77)

When the teacher's expectations are central in determining what will be learned, Kelly suggests that students who learn what is not anticipated are viewed as not learning at all. Implicit in the teacher-is-listener metaphor is the idea that when teachers listen to learners' interpretations and predictions, they expand their own interpretation of what has or has not been learned. Britton's teacher-is-listener metaphor is consistent with Kelly's (1963) insights:

> If we are to have a productive science of psychology, let us put the burden of discovery on the experimenter rather than on the subject. Let the experimenter find out what the subject is thinking about, rather than asking the subject to find out what the experimenter is thinking about. (p. 77)

Here Kelly reveals teachers as listeners rather than speakers. Central are the learner's thoughts and ideas, not the teacher's.

Britton's perception of the student's role parallels Dewey's observations of a child's life in

school. Dewey suggests that children are not often encouraged to be active participants in their school lives. He notes that traditional schools allow very little space for children to work; desks in large numbers cramp children into rooms and, even more importantly, give the message that the child's role is to listen, not actively construct meaning. Dewey (1900/1971) elaborates in the following passage:

> The attitude of listening means, comparatively speaking, passivity, absorption; that there are certain ready-made materials which are there, which have been prepared by the school superintendent, the board, the teacher, and of which the child is to take in as much as possible in the least possible time. (p. 32)

Implicit in Dewey's observation of schools is the idea that children need time and space in which to create and develop their ideas. Explicit in Dewey's observation is the idea that schools are organized to handle large numbers of children which can suggest to children that their role is to absorb information passively. The implicit message for children is the school's value for conformity which is necessary for efficient, large-group instruction. Dewey contrasts this with the notion that children are capable of growing individually as they act out their lives:

> The moment children act they individualize themselves; they cease to be a mass and become the intensely distinctive beings that we are acquainted with out of school, in the home, the family, on the playground, and in the neighborhood. (p. 33)

Implicit here is the natural inclination of children to individualize themselves through their own learning when they are provided a reliable environment of interdependence like home, family, playground, or neighborhood. The traditional school, however, according to Dewey, has worked against liberating students to pursue their own learning by imposing "its passivity of attitude, its mechanical massing of children, its uniformity of curriculum and method" (p. 34). The first step, to Britton, in liberating learners requires that the teacher provide a reliable environment.

To Britton, the teacher participates in learning with students and, in doing so, relinquishes traditional teacher authority over subject material and students. Britton's notion of teacher and student as co-learners is similar to Dewey's explanation of a teacher's concern for students as learners:

> As a teacher he is not concerned with adding new facts to the science he teaches; in propounding new hypotheses or in verifying them. He is concerned with the

> subject-matter of the science as *representing a given stage and phase of the development of experience.* His problem is that of inducing a vital and personal experiencing. Hence, what concerns him, as teacher, [are] the ways in which that subject may become a part of experience; what there is in the child's present that is usable with reference to it; how such elements are to be used; how his own knowledge of the subject-matter may assist in interpreting the child's needs and doings, and determine the medium in which the child should be placed in order that his growth may be properly directed. He is concerned, not with the subject-matter as such, but with the subject-matter as a related factor in a total and growing experience. Thus to see it is to psychologize it. (1902/1971, p. 23)

According to Dewey, the teacher is interested in inducing a vital and personal experience for the student. To Britton, with his learner-is-meaning-maker metaphor, learners participate in making meaning for themselves as they share with the teacher and their peers. In this way, they all grow through the experience. If the teacher is concerned only with facts, however, according to Dewey, the learner is deprived of a "vital and personal experiencing."

Metaphors for Academic Decision Making

Britton's notion of academic decision making centers on the learner as revealed in his learner-is-scientist metaphor which parallels Kelly who departs from common thought about scientists as a discrete classification of particular people. Instead, Kelly (1963) broadens his view of the scientist: "We are speaking of all mankind in its scientist-like aspects, rather than all mankind in its biological aspects or all mankind in its appetitive aspects" (p. 4). In this sense, the inquisitive nature inherent in people constitutes a scientist-like aspect. Kelly states that the aim of the scientist is to predict and control: "As a scientist, man seeks to predict, and thus control, the course of events. It follows, then, that the constructs which he formulates are intended to aid him in his predictive efforts" (p. 12). Kelly continues with his scientist metaphor as he explains the manner in which learners test their constructs of the world:

> Like the scientist who must form testable hypotheses and then try them out, the person who is to form new hypotheses needs to have data available in a form which his new constructs will either predict or clearly fail to predict. The person who lives in a completely elastic world can soon become discouraged in his attempts to measure it. (p. 170)

Learning then, according to Kelly, is the process through which learners predict and validate or invalidate hypotheses and accordingly adjust their personal constructs. In this way, Britton's learner-is-scientist metaphor is consistent with Kelly's notion of the role people assume in learning.

Britton's student-is-decision-maker metaphor is similar to Kelly's choice corollary and centers on the learner's ability to anticipate events. Choices, according to Kelly, are determined by personal constructs which are dichotomous. From Kelly's (1963) point of view, "a person's construction system is for the anticipation of events" (p. 67). In this light, the underlying reason for constructing and reconstructing world representations is to make better decisions by learning to anticipate events. Kelly elaborates: "To our way of thinking, there is a continuing movement toward the anticipation of events, rather than a series of barters for temporal satisfactions, and this movement is the essence of human life itself" (p. 68). Here the knowledge-is-world-representation-entity and learner-is-meaning-maker metaphors are found to be with the learner's anticipation of events on an ongoing basis. Britton's learning-is-student-directed-experiences metaphor also portrays learning as continuing movement, which Kelly views as the essence of human life.

Britton's learner-is-decision-maker metaphor reflects Kelly's controls theory with which he answers his own question about determinism and free will:

> But does a man control his own destiny? Our answer to that is that he may control it to the extent that he can develop a construction system with which he identifies himself and which is sufficiently comprehensive to subsume the world around him. If he is unable to identify himself with the system, he may be able to predict events determinatively, but he can experience no personal control. If he is able to develop the system as a self-system as well as a not-self-system, and can make it work--in other words, predict--he may exercise control. According to this view, mankind is slowly learning to control his destiny, although it is a long and tedious process. Furthermore, this view, since it is framed within the position of constructive alternativism, does not necessarily negate the view of man as the result of social forces or of man as the servant of a supreme being. (1963, pp. 126-127)

Personal control, according to Kelly, involves discovering personal identity within a larger system and being able to make predictions about that system. To Britton, learners chart their own learning as they predict events and interpret experiences. Both Kelly and Britton view learners as capable of controlling their own destiny.

> Dewey (1900/1971) also cites the need for students to control their lives and learning: The problem on the side of method is an analogous one: to bring the child to recognize the necessity of a similar development within himself--the need of securing for himself practical and intellectual control of such methods of work and inquiry as will enable him to realize results for himself. (p. 107)

Explicit in *the need of securing for himself practical and intellectual control* is the need for schools and teachers to help children become cognizant of their personal identity and their ability to control their destiny. Cassirer (1967) also cites this need and states: "The ego finds itself smothered. . . . The ego no longer draws from culture the consciousness of its own power; it draws only the certainty of its impotence" (p. 185). Implicit in Britton's circularity, plant, and network metaphors is the element of social interaction as an essential ingredient for personal growth and identity through decision making. Dewey, Cassirer, and Britton express the need to encourage children to be decision makers in their own social settings.

Britton's circularity metaphor is embedded in the plant metaphor and parallels Kelly's (1963) concept of personhood:

> The burden of our assumption is that learning is not a special class of psychological processes; it is synonymous with any and all psychological processes. It is not something that happens to a person on occasion; it is what makes him a person in the first place. (p. 75)

Here Kelly discounts the notion that learning is an event in itself. Instead, learning is ongoing and involves the individual's totality. Britton's feelings metaphor and social-interaction metaphor consider the learner a complete person with emotional and social needs. Along with personal and shared values, emotional and social needs intertwine to shape Britton's network metaphor. Implicit in the network and circularity metaphors is the notion that learners grow as a result of personal feelings and social interaction. Since language is the means to express feelings and socially interact with others, schools need to encourage students to make decisions in social contexts. Vygotsky (1934/1987) identifies the benefit of enhancing conceptual thinking through social processes:

> Unlike the development of instincts, thinking and behavior of adolescents are prompted not from within but from without, by the social milieu. The tasks with which society confronts an adolescent as he enters the cultural, professional,

> and civic world of adults undoubtedly become an important factor in the emergence of conceptual thinking. If the milieu presents no such tasks to the adolescent, makes no new demands on him, and does not stimulate his intellect by providing a sequence of new goals, his thinking fails to reach the highest stages, or reaches them with great delay. (p. 108)

Implicit in higher-level thinking are decision-making skills. Both Britton and Vygotsky view social interactions through which learners make decisions as an integral part of thinking and learning.

Britton's metaphors for curriculum development, teacher and student roles, and academic decision making are parallel, in part, to the work of Kelly, Vygotsky, Dewey, Langer, Cassirer, and Polanyi. Britton's metaphors are rooted in the belief that collaborative efforts are intellectually as well as socially stimulating and that the role of schools is to provide a setting that perpetuates democratic processes. These beliefs serve as a foundation on which personal expression and personal development emerge.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE EDUCATIONAL STANCES OF HUNTER AND BRITTON

Research on teaching during the last twenty years has been dominated by two paradigms, the process-product paradigm and the interpretive paradigm (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1990). Hunter and Britton are two educational theorists whose work parallels these two teaching and learning paradigms which are based upon different theoretical frameworks. Although the process-product and interpretive paradigms are research study paradigms, they can be compared and discussed in terms of their representative educational stances. Inherent in each is its own social and political theories (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985). In this chapter, Hunter's and Britton's educational stances will be discussed in terms of these political and social implications.

Hunter's theoretical underpinnings are consistent with the process-product paradigm which is described by Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1990):

> For more than 15 years, researchers have been exploring effective teaching by correlating particular processes, or teacher behaviors, with particular products, usually defined as student achievement as measured by standardized tests. (See, for example, Brophy & Good, 1986; Denham & Lieberman, 1980; Dunkin & Biddle, 1974.) Underlying this research is a view of teaching as a primarily linear activity wherein teacher behaviors are considered "causes," and student learning is regarded as "effects." This approach emphasizes the actions of teachers rather than the professional judgments and attempts to capture the activity of teaching by identifying sets of discrete behaviors reproducible from one teacher and one classroom to the next. Research of this kind has been associated with the view of teacher-as-technician (Apple, 1986), wherein the teacher's primary role is to implement the research findings of others concerning instruction, curriculum, and assessment. With this view, the primary knowledge source for the improvement of practice is research on classroom phenomena that can be observed. The research has a perspective that is "outside-in"; in other words, it has been conducted almost exclusively by university-based researchers who are outside of the day-to-day practices of schooling. (pp. 2-3)

Hunter's conduit, cause-effect, teacher-is-decision-maker, and knowledge-is-entity metaphors indicate her process-product orientation to teaching and learning. Paramount for Hunter is the measure of

correct responses resulting from cause-effect relationships in classroom settings. Her promise is to increase the number of correct responses or test scores, and her ITIP model serves as the vehicle for cause-effect relationships. Hunter's educational stance is derived from stimulus-response and reinforcement theories.

On the other hand, when knowledge is viewed as an evolving world representation, which is true from Britton's perspective, it follows that all experiences in daily living shape a student's knowledge. When language is viewed as a process closely related to thinking, language becomes an essential element in the construction and reconstruction of world representations. Language, in this sense, is used as a means to explore ideas, to discover possibilities, and to make predictions about the future. In this context, meaning is derived from the student's own world representation and is subject to change as the world representation changes. The student is viewed as an active participant in constructing knowledge and meaning. From this perspective, students negotiate curriculum with teachers. Students use their own language to share their learning, to explore ideas, and to derive meaning. Through cooperatively sharing with peers and teachers, students revise their views in ways that make sense to them.

Britton's theoretical underpinnings place him in the interpretive paradigm which is described by Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1990):

> The second paradigm includes a diverse group of qualitative or interpretive studies that Schulman (1986) refers to as studies of "classroom ecology." This family of inquiries draws from anthropology, sociology, and linguistics, and from the traditions of qualitative, interpretive research. (See, for example, recent syntheses by Cazden, 1986; Erickson, 1986; Evertson & Green, 1986.) Research from these perspectives presumes that teaching is a highly complex, context-specific, interactive activity in which differences across classrooms, schools, and communities are critically important. Interpretive research provides detailed, descriptive accounts of customary school and classroom events that shed light on their meanings for the participants involved. (p. 3)

Britton's network, shared-values, reliable-environment, and social-interaction metaphors indicate his classroom ecology orientation to teaching and learning. Britton's educational stance centers on the learner's construction of knowledge and the ability to make predictions about future events. Britton recognizes the importance of the ecology of the classroom which includes social interaction through which learners interpret and internalize their experiences. In this way, to Britton, learning becomes both social and personal.

The Hunter and Britton paradigms reflect two different ideologies which emerge from different social and political theories. The economic-reproductive model of social production (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985) raises important related issues which focus on the relationship between schooling and society. One issue is concerned with how an educational system functions within a society, and the other is concerned with how schools fundamentally influence the ideologies, personalities, and needs of students. As Aronowitz and Giroux (1985) elaborate:

> Power in these accounts is defined and examined primarily in terms of its function to mediate and legitimate the relations of dominance and subordinance in the economic sphere. In this perspective, power becomes the property of dominant groups and operates to reproduce class, gender, and racial inequalities that function in the interests of the accumulation and expansion of capital. This becomes clear in the way economic-reproductive theorists analyze the relations between the economy and schooling.
>
> Central to this position is the notion that schools can only be understood by analyzing the structural effects of the workplace on them. In Bowles and Glintis's work this notion becomes clear through their reliance on what they call the correspondence theory. Broadly speaking, the correspondence theory posits that the hierarchically structured patterns of values, norms, and skills that characterize both the workforce and the dynamics of the class interaction under capitalism are mirrored in the social dynamics of the daily classroom encounter. Through its classroom social relations, schooling functions to inculcate students with the attitudes and dispositions necessary to accept the social and economic imperative of a capitalist economy. (p. 74)

Schools reflect society's class structure and social division of labor. Hunter's behavioristic origins and process-product orientation reveal her successful attempt to restore the old order in education (Hampel, 1986) which has recently been called the back-to-basics movement of the 1980s.

From a behaviorist perspective, the teacher is in charge and makes decisions for students. Leonard Covello, a high school principal in the 1970s at Benjamin Franklin High School, reminisces about teaching and in the process reveals his process-product orientation and his view of the teacher as the central figure of power and authority and students as passive receivers in classroom settings. Following is Covello's (cited in Hampel, 1986) description of teaching and learning which parallels Hunter's transmission model and her notion of teacher-is-decision-maker:

> I am the teacher. I am older, presumably wiser than you, the pupils. I am in possession of knowledge which you don't have. It is my function to transfer this knowledge from my mind to yours. For the most efficient transfer of knowledge, certain ground rules must be set up and adhered to. I talk. You listen. I give. You take. Yes, we will be friends, we will share, we will discuss, we will have open sessions for healthy disagreement--but only within the context of the relationship I have described, and the respect for my position which must go with it. (pp. 7-8)

The message Covello gives is a direct statement of power. Likewise, when Hunter discusses the teacher as the decision maker and healer, the sociopolitical message is a direct statement of teacher power in the classroom. It is in this context that students are to learn passivity and respect for authority figures, especially teachers.

The dominance of technocratic relationality is evident in the training of prospective teachers (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985). Aronowitz and Giroux discuss studies that emphasize the long domination in the United States of behavioristic orientation toward mastery learning and methodology as a basis for developing and evaluating teacher competence. Zeichner is cited to clarify the political implications of this dominance:

> Underlying this orientation to teacher education is a metaphor of 'production,' a view of teaching as an 'applied science' and a view of the teacher as primarily an 'executor' of the laws and principles of effective teaching. Prospective teachers may or may not proceed through the curriculum at their own pace and may participate in varied or standardized learning activities, but that which they are to master is limited in scope (e.g., to a body of professional content knowledge and teaching skills) and is fully determined in advance by others often on the basis of research on teacher effectiveness. The prospective teacher is viewed primarily as a passive recipient of this professional knowledge and plays little part in determining the substance and direction of his or her preparation program. (cited in Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985, p. 26)

Since the old order of teacher-is-boss and student-is-deficient-and-passive is part of the common experience most United States educators share, Hunter's model firmly reestablishes teacher authority in commonsense schools (Mayher, 1990). Passive learning is embedded in conventional wisdom which is seldom questioned. The teacher-is-decision-maker notion may be so firmly embedded in the unconsciousness of prospective teachers (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985) that it exists unquestioned

in the model that reproduces itself.

Another often unquestioned aspect of the reproduction model is school curriculum. Thorndike, a behaviorist and one of the curriculum field's earliest and most important members, helped to define the relationship between community control and power and curriculum construction (Apple, 1981). Apple argues that this influence continues in contemporary curriculum issues.

Apple (1981) found two issues that dominated early curriculum, community and likemindedness, which he calls common themes in the newly developing fields of American social theory, including sociology, psychology, and education. According to Apple, curriculum studies in the United States are still firmly rooted in Thorndike's vision of a middle class threatened by immigrant workers from below and corporate capitalists from above. Apple discusses that Thorndike then transferred his fear of immigrants to that of blacks:

> Just as importantly, Edward L. Thorndike, who did more than any other individual to articulate the behavioristic psychology that has dominated the curriculum field since its earliest times, viewed Blacks in the same way as these other educators viewed the immigrant. He not only doubted their ability to adjust to democratic institutions, but he saw them as an undesirable element within the population of most American cities. (p. 74)

Thorndike's solution to the threat which immigrants and blacks posed to the middle class was differentiated curriculum and ability grouping which prepared students of different intelligence and ability for a variety of different but specific adult life functions. Apple comments on this critical point:

> These varying adult functions were seen to involve *unequal* social responsibilities yielding unequal social power and privilege. These educators believed that individuals of high intelligence were more moral, more dedicated to their work, and more willing to apply their talents to the benefit of the larger society than were the majority of the population. As a consequence Thorndike and others argued that the views of these individuals were of more social import than those of the majority. Therefore, these individuals deserved a position of social and political pre-eminence. (p. 75)

Differentiated curriculum fulfilled two social purposes: education for leadership and education for followership with those of high intelligence educated to lead and those of lower intelligence educated to follow their superiors.

The notion that immigrants and blacks were intellectually inferior, which is to say genetically poorer than resident white Americans, gained early support from the work of Thorndike (Powell, Farrar, and Cohen, 1985):

> Thorndike and other early practitioners of "mental measurement" advertised the virtues of newly devised tests of intelligence for assessing students' capacity for learning. Dozens of studies done early in the century found that, on average, the children of immigrants scored less well on the tests than did "native" white American children. Since the psychologists also held that the tests were good predictors--in other words, that children who did less well on the tests would do less well in school--these results convinced most psychologists and many educators that children's ability to succeed in school differed radically, and that it differed racially as well. (p. 244)

The old order of testing and grouping by ability is firmly rooted in United States education. Though testing today may not be as explicitly discriminatory, as in the case of Thorndike, Hunter's notion of testing determines a student's placement within the traditional school curriculum. In doing so, students are tracked by perceived abilities. Once a student is diagnosed for deficiencies, the teacher, to Hunter, is able to teach diagnostically. Diagnostic testing drives teaching which in turn improves evaluative test scores (Hunter, 1978a). Thus, Hunter assumes test-driven, differentiated curriculum improves learning as measured by test scores. In this framework is the assumption that tests are fair and represent opportunities equal for all test takers. However, testing is not grounded in the concept of equality (Apple, 1981, 1988; Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985; Hampel, 1986; Powell et al., 1985).

A test-driven language arts curriculum runs counter to current language learning theory. Boomer (1988) states that teaching theory must be based on some notion of how people learn. With this in mind, Hunter's view of language learning as a sequential, lock-step process is inconsistent with language acquisition theory. Stenhouse (1975) emphasizes the key error made by a test-driven, behavioral objectives approach:

> Analysis of curriculum content into behavioural objectives is not in accord with the nature and structure of knowledge--with epistemology. Knowledge cannot be

> reduced to behaviours. In particular it cannot be expressed in terms of pre-specified performances for it is the function of knowledge, as opposed to mere agglomerations of facts, that it does not determine behaviour but liberates it. Knowledge is a basis for diversity of performances characterized by understanding. An approach through objectives attempts to standardize behaviours, i.e. make them more the subject of formulae, less of creative response. Objectives also tend to make knowledge, which is the right end, the means to the development of skills, which should be the means but are made the end. Because of this failure to face the idea of knowledge as the basis of enlightenment and understanding, the approach through behavioural objectives tends to trivialize the purposes of education. (cited in Rudduck and Hopkins, 1985, p. 77)

Hunter's behavioristic view of language learning reduces learning to skills development through drills and practice. In addition, when learning is approached through behavioral objectives, Stenhouse asks the following sociopolitical questions:

> Whose objectives are these to be: those of the State, of the curriculum developer, of the teacher or of the student? Should all students in the same classroom group have the same objectives? (cited in Rudduck and Hopkins, 1985, p. 77)

Stenhouse suggests that, normally, the objectives formula sidetracks and blurs the ethical and political problems associated with the control of education, its aspirations, and its individualization.

Chomsky (1968) details the danger of mechanized approaches to learning and testing in the following passage:

> There is a real temptation to reconstruct curriculum in the terms defined by the new technology and it is not too difficult to invent a rationale, making use of the concepts of 'controlling behavior,' enhancing skills, and so on. Nor is it difficult to construct objective tests that are sure to demonstrate effectiveness of such methods in reaching certain goals that are incorporated in those tests. But successes of this sort will not demonstrate that an important educational goal has been achieved. They will not demonstrate that it is important to concentrate on developing skilled behavior in the student. That little is known about human intelligence would at least suggest something quite different. That by diminishing the range and complexity of materials presented to the inquiring mind, by setting

> behavior in fixed patterns, these methods may harm and distort the normal development of creative abilities. (p. 27)

According to Chomsky, a skills approach, although easily tested, may actually distort normal development in students. Behaviorists like Hunter who view learning as a divided entity taught by discrete behavioral objectives may retard or distort normal development of creative abilities.

A process-product language program may teach students language-like behavior, but such a program will not foster language acquisition (Chomsky, 1968; Smith, 1982; Higgens and Johns, 1984; Krashen, 1982). Higgens and Johns cite Krashen to distinguish between language-like behavior and language acquisition:

> Krashen suggests that what is 'learned' and what is 'acquired' in language are used separately by the brain, and there is very little exchange between the learning store and the acquisition store. He further maintains that only the acquisition store can initiate spontaneous conversation or creative use of language. The learning store can be used for mental translation, and will act as a monitor on the discourse produced by the acquisition store, allowing errors to be corrected. A learner whose learning store is well filled but whose acquisition store is empty will be capable of laborious 'language-like behavior' but not of using language. . . . These [students who do well], though, are exceptional cases, and against them must be set the millions of learners who have spent hundreds of hours in classrooms studying a language and have passed examinations, but emerged with no useful grasp of the language at all. An acquisition-oriented classroom would probably have served them far better. (pp. 16-17)

Stimulus-response theory does not address the aims of language acquisition theory. Hunter's model might be useful for learning language-like behavior, but it does not provide for language acquisition. Drills and practice sessions cannot replace a classroom centered on student talk and writing.

Furthermore, to split curriculum into small parts and to label these parts with degrees of difficulty is an attack against critical thought (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985; Apple, 1981, 1988), especially in language development. Writing especially has come under attack by behaviorists like Hunter. Aronowitz and Giroux state:

> We wish to suggest that schools, especially the colleges and universities, are now battlegrounds that may help determine the shape of the future. The

> proliferation of composition programs at all levels of higher education may signal a new effort to extend the technicization process even further into the humanities. For in identification of the problem as one of the "skills" there has developed a tendency to degrade writing to its functional boundaries, instead of seeing it as an expressive and intellectual process. . . . The splitting of composition as a course from the study of literature, is of course a sign of its technicization and should be resisted both because it is an attack against critical thought and because it results in demoralization of teachers and their alienation from work. (p. 52)

Hunter's view of curriculum as an entity which can be transmitted both deskills and demoralizes students and teachers (Apple, 1981, 1988). In addition, Hunter's model appears to be a neutral approach to teaching, but curriculum is not neutral and neither is teaching according to Aronowitz and Giroux:

> Education is seen as an important social and political force in the process of class reproduction. By appearing to be an impartial and neutral "transmitter" of the benefits of a valued culture, schools are able to promote inequality in the name of fairness and objectivity. (p. 80)

Hunter's educational stance espouses autocratic principles which constitute the old order of education in the United States. If superintendents and administrators want to continue the autocratic tradition in schools, the Hunter ITIP model for effective teaching promises to accomplish that goal.

However, a military model, like Hunter's, cannot insure democratic participation and cannot espouse the ideals of a democratic society (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985). In any democratic society critical thinking is paramount to self-management. As Aronowitz and Giroux state:

> Self-management of society [U.S.] at the political as well as social and economic levels requires a population possessed of detailed and complex knowledge of scientific and technological processes as well as the elements of policy. The issues in a society wishing to widen participation in its key decisions is whether these can be grasped by ordinary people, and reading and writing are essential elements of this process. (p. 64)

To maintain a democracy, education for all people is essential if they are to participate in sociopolitical decision making. The public learns how to act for itself through participation in democratic practices. Thus any school model which centralizes power in U.S. life threatens to thwart the historical tendency of the widening practice of democracy in our nation (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985).

The interpretive teaching philosophy espouses the need for schools with student-centered classrooms. In traditional, process-product classrooms, students are sorted and tracked by IQ tests and teacher-perceived abilities. Through this process students' future options are determined and/or limited. According to Hampel (1986), student resistance to authority in schools is implicit by absenteeism, high drop out rates, and rebellious conduct.

Hampel (1986) discusses techniques teachers devise to keep order and maintain power:

> Many inner city teachers tried to obviate disorder by using films, worksheets, and in-class "homework" that preserved quiet. But this kind of class period discouraged student-teacher conversation on side issues. Many white urban teachers had no desire to fraternize; they often demonstrated "a withdrawal of energies" bred of "weary pessimism" and "fear and hatred of the students." (p. 76)

The need for teachers to maintain control has led teachers to devise ways to preserve their power (Powell et al., 1985; Hampel, 1986; Apple, 1981; Sedlak et al., 1986). The need for social control outweighs the need for democratic practices and learning. Sedlak et al. discuss this classroom reality: "The fundamental vision itself encourages and rewards passivity. It asks students to substitute learning how to go to school for learning. It asks them not to learn but to comply" (p. 183). An interpretive, student-centered classroom, in contrast to a process-product, teacher-centered classroom, allows students the freedom to create their own knowledge through social interaction in a way that is meaningful to them. The student-centered classroom fosters mutual respect through interactive discussions in which differences are valued.

Within the interpretive ideology, the role of the teacher changes from authority figure to transformative intellectual (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985):

> Transformative intellectuals is a category which suggests that teachers as intellectuals can emerge from and work with any number of groups, other than and including the working class, that advance emancipatory traditions and cultures within and without alternative public spheres. Utilizing the language of critique, these intellectuals employ the discourse of self-criticism so as to make the

> foundations for a critical pedagogy explicit while simultaneously illuminating the relevance of the latter for both students and larger society. (p. 36)

Transformative intellectuals understand schooling as both a struggle for meaning and a struggle over power relations. Transformative intellectuals are teachers who can work with any number of socioeconomic classes in varied settings. These teachers as intellectuals articulate their self-criticism and at the same time illuminate findings to both students and the larger society. From this perspective, school is a place for dialogue on power struggles and contradictions. Aronowitz and Giroux continue:

> Within this view of schooling, critical reflection and action become part of a fundamental social project to help students develop a deep and abiding faith in the struggle to overcome injustices and to change themselves. Knowledge and power are inextricably linked in this case to the presupposition that to choose life, so as to make it possible, is to understand the preconditions necessary to struggle for it. (p. 36).

The category of the transformational intellectual is one of several Aronowitz and Giroux explore which makes the pedagogical more political and the political more pedagogical. In essence, the transformational intellectual uses forms of pedagogy that treat students as critical agents, problematizes knowledge, utilizes dialogue, and makes knowledge meaningful, critical and ultimately emancipatory (pp. 36-37). With this vision, both teacher and students are capable of critical thinking and problem solving which increases their self-esteem.

In classrooms that value individuals and their ideas, both teachers and students interact with greater respect for one another. Britton's socially oriented, student-centered classroom encourages negotiation which implicitly tells students that schools value their ideas about learning and day-to-day activities. In this setting, a reliable environment of interdependence is created and a bond forms between and among students and teachers.

If school officials as well as the general public envision schools with student and teacher participation consistent with democratic ideals, then the interpretive paradigm represented by Britton offers possibilities. Before such a paradigm can be successfully implemented in U.S. commonsense schools, however, the old order theoretical framework will need to be changed. Without this theoretical or sociopolitical ideology change, ideas of a new order will continue to be subverted by the persistence of the old order.

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Appendix

Comparison of Hunter's and Britton's Educational Stances

HUNTER	BRITTON
METAPHORS FOR LEARNING	
Knowledge-Is-Entity	**Knowledge-Is-World-Representation Entity**
Teacher-Is-Meaning-Maker-For-Others	Learner-Is-Meaning-Maker
Learning-Is-Teacher-Directed-Journey	*Learning-Is-Student-Directed-Experiences*
METAPHORS FOR CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT	
Curriculum-Is-Building-Block-Structure	**Language-Is-Means-to-Curriculum**
Past-Curricular-Knowledge-Entity	Past-Personal-Knowledge-Entity
Predetermined-Outcomes	*Open-Ended-Outcomes*
METAPHORS FOR TEACHER AND STUDENT ROLES	
Teacher-Diagnoses-Student-Needs and Student-Is-Deficient	**Teacher-Creates-Reliable-Environment-of-Interdependence and Student-Is-Capable**
Teacher-Creates-Meaning and Student-is-Dependent	Teacher-Accepts-Learner and Learner-Is-Independent
Teacher-Transmits-Knowledge-to-Students and Student-Is-Container	*Teacher-Constructs-Knowledge-with-Learners and Student-Is-Colearner*
METAPHORS FOR ACADEMIC DECISION MAKING	
Teacher-Is-Healer	**Learner-Is-Scientist**
Teacher-Is-Decision-Maker	Learner-Is-Decision-Maker
Time-Is-Money	*Learning-Is-Growing-Plant*

KEY:
Bold: Metaphors for Knowledge
Underline: Metaphors for Meaning
Italics: Metaphors for Learning

Figure 4. Comparison of Hunter and Britton

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